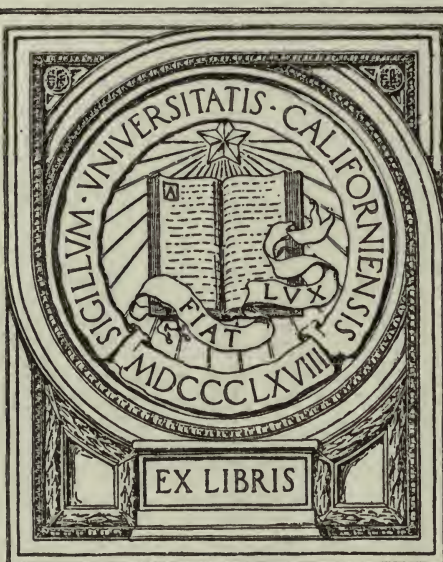




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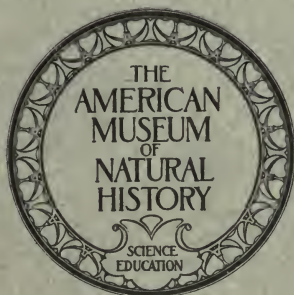
VOL. XXI, PART II

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THE TOBACCO SOCIETY OF THE CROW INDIANS

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE



NEW YORK

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES

1919



## AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

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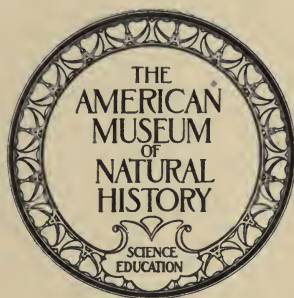
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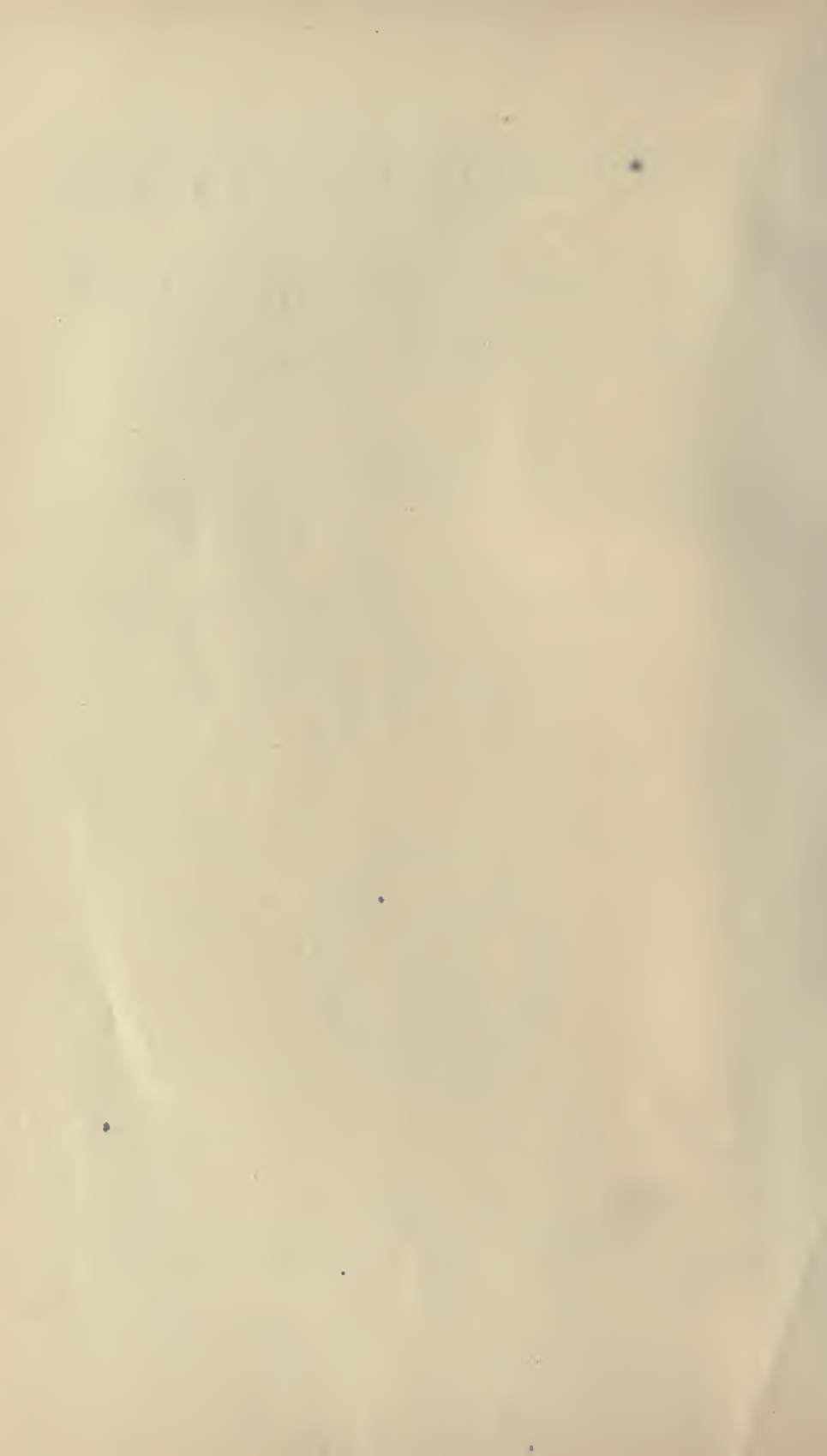
THE TOBACCO SOCIETY OF THE CROW INDIANS

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

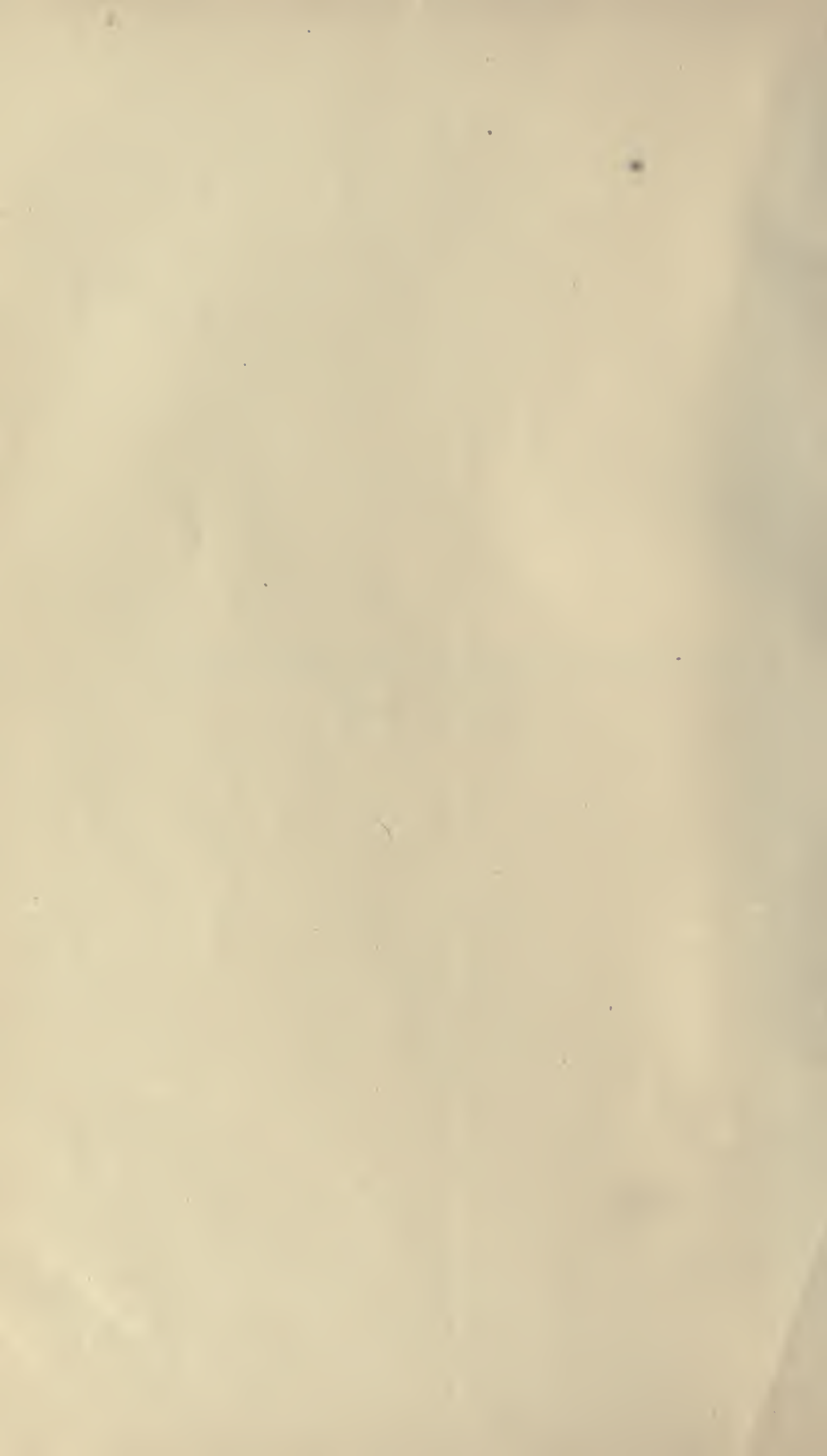


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BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.



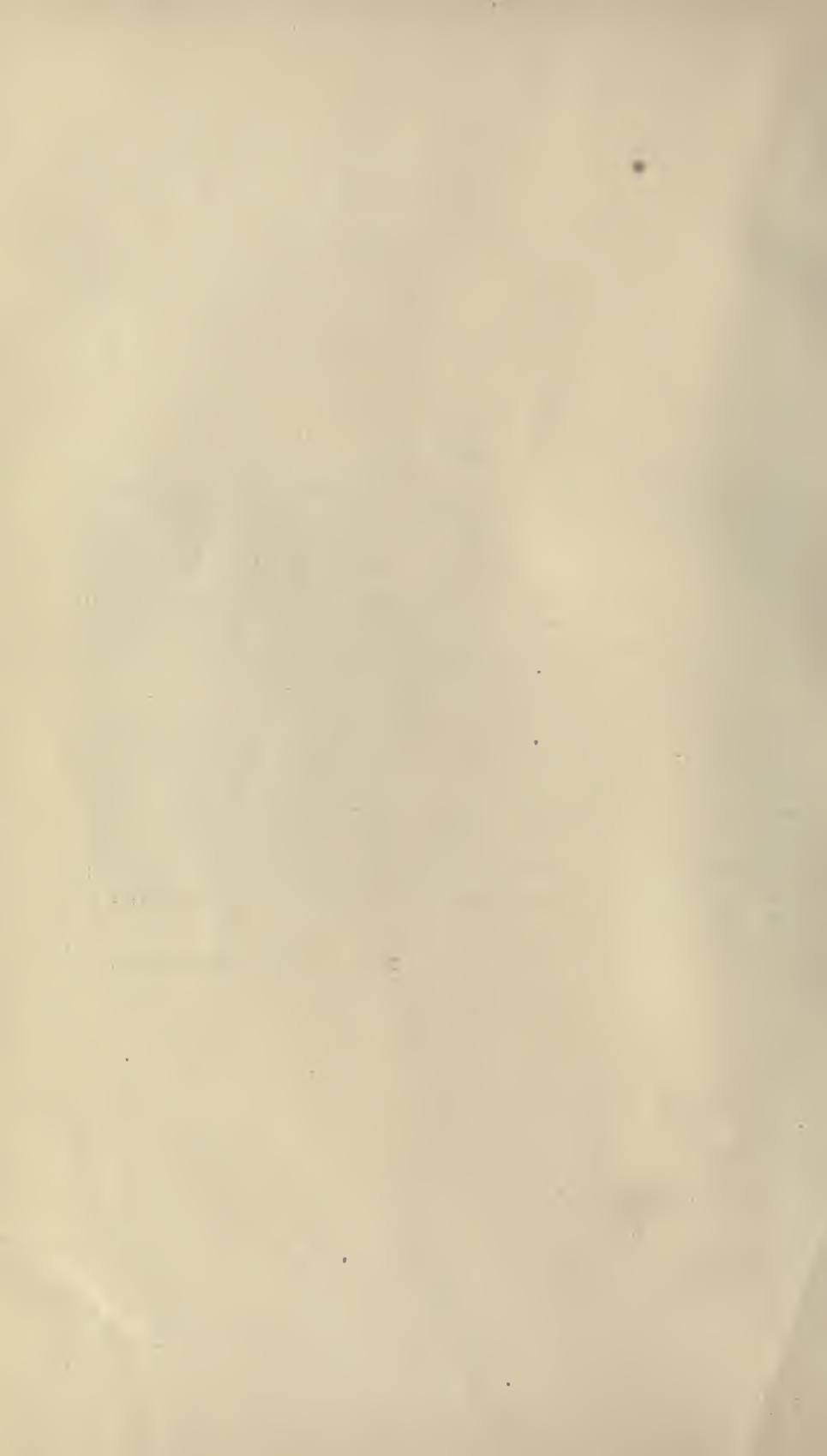
## PREFACE.

Although the Tobacco society loomed large in the tribal life of the Crow, its ceremonial activities probably ranking next to the Sun dance in importance, I am not acquainted with any detailed accounts of the organization. The only ones I have seen are that by Curtis in *The North American Indian*, vol. 4, 1909, pp. 61-67, and Simms's paper on the "Cultivation of 'Medicine Tobacco' by the Crows" in the *American Anthropologist* (N. S., vol. 6, 1904, pp. 331-335), which while announced as a preliminary report has remained without a sequel.

On my first visit to the Crow in 1907 I began to take notes on the Tobacco society and in the course of subsequent visits succeeded in accumulating considerable material on the subject. The greater portion of this information was secured at Lodge Grass, Montana; however, a fair amount of check data was obtained in other districts of the Reservation. Continued investigation would surely have added to my knowledge of detail, but it seems that the information here presented suffices to afford an understanding of the essential principles underlying the organization.

April, 1919.

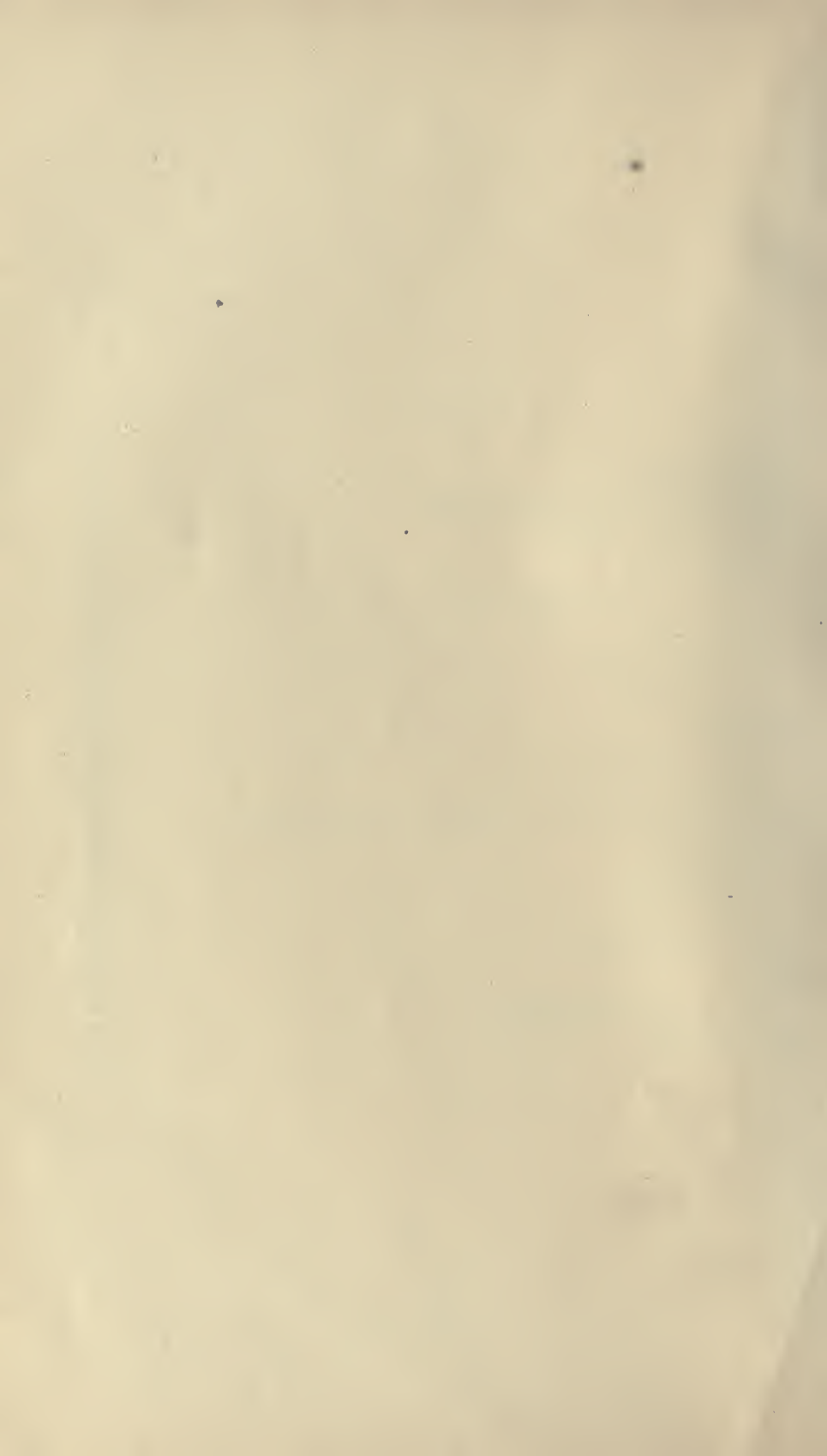
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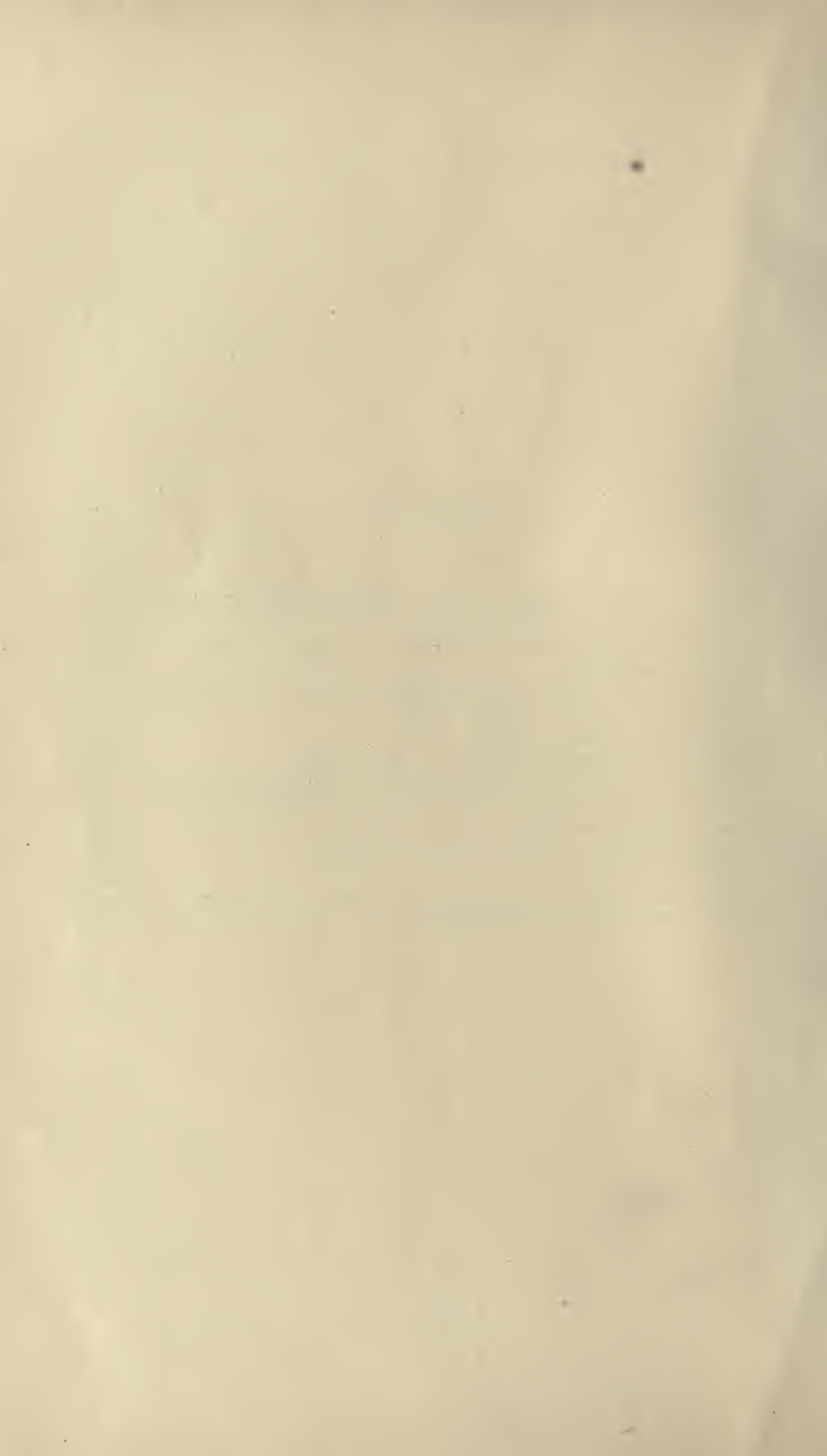
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## INTRODUCTION.

Before offering a detailed account of the Tobacco society it seems desirable to give a brief sketch of Crow ceremonialism. Contrary to opinions sometimes expressed in print, the Crow Indians cannot be characterized as a preëminently ceremonial people. In this respect they do not even remotely approximate the Village tribes of the Upper Missouri, let alone the Pawnee or Hopi. For example, organizations like the military societies, which elsewhere are charged with a distinctly religious flavor even when they are placed in a lesser category of sacredness, are among the Crow so predominantly secular that they are best treated as purely social clubs; at best they display only the outward trappings of ceremonialism. Nor do we find a calendric series of festivals or any other attempt at systematic elaboration.

This does not mean that there is any dearth of set observances. The elements of ceremonialism pervade Crow life probably to as great an extent as they do the life of other Plains tribes; but they are rarely synthetized into impressive wholes. This may become clearer by a comparison with the Blackfoot. Crow culture shares the mystical accentuation of four, the altar, the use of incense, the ritualistic song. More important still, it is characterized by the dominance of the vision and the concept that its beneficial results are transferable by sale. With the Blackfoot, however, these features developed into an elaborate scheme of bundle rituals. Among the Crow there are comparable phenomena but they seem inferior both quantitatively and in point of integration. The Crow have not only fewer and on the whole less complicated rituals but their rituals do not conform to a pattern so definitely as Blackfoot bundle procedure conforms to the Beaver bundle standard. The contrast is even greater when the Crow are compared with the Hidatsa. The latter have a long series of bundles, including, e.g., the Bird, Missouri River, Soldiers' Sticks, Old Woman, and Wolf bundles, all of which manifestly represent a single ceremonial type. On the other hand, the Crow have very few pretentious bundles standing out from the host of individually owned charms and other lesser medicines; and of these few the Horse and Pipe medicines are demonstrably features borrowed in recent times from the Assiniboin and Hidatsa respectively. Further, the bundles of fairly long standing—the Sun Dance Doll, the Medicine Arrows, the Tobacco medicine—have each a marked individuality, thus hardly forming a well-defined group of ceremonial complexes.

If we look at Crow ceremonialism with reference to spectacular performances, we also find very few that properly come under this head,—the Tobacco complex, the Sun dance and to a decidedly lesser extent the Medicine Pipe ceremony and the Bear Song dance, the last-mentioned partaking of the nature of a shamanistic exhibition. The Cooked Meat Singing may also be cited as a performance of a certain solemnity in which a fairly large number of individuals participate.

It is further interesting to note that apart from the Tobacco society (and perhaps we might add the essentially alien Horse society), the Crow tendency is not to associate medicines with organizations properly so called. The germ of organization, to be sure, exists, viz., the conception of a ceremonial transfer as an adoption; but with the exceptions noted the germ has not given rise to societies but to individual relationships, possibly multiple but still individual. That is, a man may adopt several persons so that they will share in his medicine but generally their having a common 'father' is not stressed and they thus fail to form a definite body. The Tobacco medicine gave rise to a society precisely because the common ceremonial relationship was recognized.

The place of the Tobacco dance in Crow ceremonial life may possibly be elucidated by the following tentative tabular statement:—

Societies	{	I Without Adoption	(a) Military Clubs (Foxes, Lumpwoods, Big Dogs, etc.)
			(b) Modern Clubs (Night Hot Dancers, Big Ear-hole, etc.)
	{	II With formal adoption	(a) Tobacco
			(b) Horse
Ceremonies	{	I Individual and Shamanistic	
		II Group performances	(a) By definite groups { Tobacco
			{ Horse
			{ Medicine Pipe
			(b) By temporary groups { Cooked Meat
			{ Singing
			{ Bear Song Dance
	{	III Tribal: Sun Dance	



## THE TOBACCO AND THE SOCIETY.

The only attempt at cultivation made by the Crow before their contact with the whites consisted in the annual planting of tobacco for purely ceremonial purposes. This practice, which persists to the present day, is mentioned by Beckwourth<sup>1</sup> and Maximilian. The former gives no hint of the species grown, but Maximilian identifies it with the tobacco of the village tribes of the Upper Missouri. He writes:—

Diese Indianer sind ein umherziehendes Jägervolk, welches weder, wie die Mandans, Mönnitarris und Arikkaras, in feststehenden Dörfern wohnt, noch Pflanzungen anlegt, wenn man eine kleine Aussaat von Tabak (*Nicotiana quadrivalvis*) ausnimmt, welche sie gewöhnlich machen sollen.<sup>2</sup>

What is the warrant for this identification? It is true that Maximilian secured tobacco seed from several unspecified Plains tribes, which was afterward planted in botanical gardens and led to the determination of the tobacco as *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*.<sup>3</sup> However, there is convincing evidence that Maximilian either did not obtain Crow seed at all and gratuitously assumed its identity with that brought from the Mandan and Hidatsa;<sup>4</sup> or that the seed was indeed Crow but represented a species borrowed from the Hidatsa and only planted incidentally. For the Crow distinguish two varieties of Indian (as opposed to trader's) tobacco,—Tall Tobacco (*ōp'hátskite*) and Short Tobacco (*ōp'púmīte*); and Grandmother's-knife identifies the tall variety with the *ōpu'pe* of the Hidatsa. "*ōp' hátskite*," as he put it, "*awacé kò á+uk*," ("Tobacco-tall, the Hidatsa own that"). My impression is that both kinds are planted nowadays, though it is certain that only the Short Tobacco is considered sacred and that the annual planting has for its primary object the preservation of this purely ceremonial plant. From my photographs of the Lodge Grass garden in which this species was grown in 1910, as well as from a pressed specimen of the entire plant, Professor W. A. Setchell, of the University of California, concluded that the Short Tobacco differed specifically from the Hidatsa tobacco, being *Nicotiana multivalvis*, not *quadrivalvis*. Of the Crow plant Professor Setchell writes that it apparently does not exist apart from cultivation, but can be produced by selection from the ordinary wild tobacco of northern California.<sup>5</sup> The Crow view as to the diversity of the Hidatsa and Crow tobacco thus has a botanical foundation, and I am

<sup>1</sup>Bonner, *Beckwourth*, 259, 301, 325, 369.

<sup>2</sup>Maximilian, I, 399.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 122.

<sup>4</sup>The form of statement in the quoted passage indicates that Maximilian had only hearsay evidence as to the Crow tobacco.

<sup>5</sup>Letters of June 18, 1912; May 20, 1914.

able to corroborate Mr. Curtis's statement to the effect that the Crow tobacco differed from that of the Hidatsa and that the latter only was employed for smoking.<sup>1</sup>

Since the Blackfoot have a tobacco ceremony which closely resembles that of the Crow in a number of details, it would be natural to assume that the plant cultivated is identical in the two tribes. This, however, does not seem to be the case. From a rather defective specimen Professor Setchell infers that the tobacco of the Northern Blackfoot is *Nicotiana attenuata*, distinct from both the Crow and Hidatsa species.

Planting Tobacco is not a natural right but a ceremonial privilege. Like other privileges of this sort, it dates back to a revelation of certain modes of procedure, songs, and regalia by a supernatural power. Participation in the benefits of this primary vision could, however, be secured through adoption by the visionary himself, or by those ceremonially descended from him by successive adoptions. The visionary and his ceremonial descendants, as defined, constituted the original Tobacco society (*bacúsua*). New visions by members of this fold led to the segregation of chapters, all sharing the right to plant Tobacco but distinguished by ceremonial details and songs. The same result was also achieved by independent visions of the Tobacco granted to outsiders, who were thereby empowered to start new lines of descent.<sup>2</sup>

From what has been said it follows that membership in the Tobacco society differs from membership in, say, the age-societies of the Hidatsa or Mandan, where the candidates purchase societies outright, the sellers thereby renouncing all privileges connected therewith. In the Tobacco society the adopting individual remains a full-fledged member regardless of the heavy initiation fee and irrespective of the number of novices adopted by him. However, there are various prerogatives, connected with the society but not with membership as such, that are bought outright. Among these may be mentioned the ownership of the adoption lodge, the privilege of mixing the Tobacco prior to sowing the seed, and the mode of painting. Such privileges are inalienable except by sale, but may be allowed to lapse. Thus Gros Ventre-horse had been learning the art of mixing from Breath and Lump-on-the-lower-part-of-the-forehead but his masters died before he was thoroughly trained. Accordingly he mixed once, but found that he had forgotten some of the

<sup>1</sup>Curtis, IV, 61. Old-dog, however, said that the *stem* of the plant was formerly smoked after being greased.

<sup>2</sup>Since some of the origin accounts assume a knowledge of the ceremonial now followed, they will be presented after the description of the ceremonies.

rules and refrained thereafter from exercising the prerogative. In other instances a wife's death was given as the reason for not participating. The privileges were not hereditary, though they might be purchased from a parent. This probably applies to the two or three cases in which a transfer from father or mother to child is mentioned in the following pages.

Of the three local divisions of the Crow<sup>1</sup> the Minisépère (River Crow) planted Tobacco separately; the Erarapío sometimes joined the Many Lodges.

Assemblages for dancing occurred throughout the year, though more frequently after the planting ceremony.

When a Tobacco dance took place in the old days, it was obligatory on members to participate. Gray-bull says that if any of them did not come they were thrown into the river as a punishment. This, it is interesting to note, is a practice of the modern Hot dance clubs<sup>2</sup>, though according to my informants, it was not in vogue among the older military organizations. It was further customary that if a Tobacco member struck his wife all the women of the society would throw the offender and other men into the creek, while if a woman similarly abused her husband she and other women would meet with the same fate at the hands of the male members. In case a member did not sing at a Tobacco dance the men would pour water on the women if a woman was at fault, and *vice versa*. Also any men who came late had to submit to this treatment; Gray-bull once had water poured down his shirt in the winter-time.

## CHAPTERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Informants agree that long ago there were only a few chapters but that as a result of individual visions new ones originated. In some of these cases there ensued a complete separation of the visionary and his followers, in others they imposed the minor variations on the entire body or, failing that, remained as a somewhat differentiated subdivision of the chapter. With three local divisions of the Crow in the old days and constant quests of visions for one reason or another the conditions were favorable for the springing up of an indefinite number of chapters and I do not flatter myself with having ascertained the names of all of them. The sense of solidarity between the several chapters is strong and the variations are of so subordinate a character as compared

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (a), 183.

<sup>2</sup>This series, vol. XI, 205.



with their essential resemblances that I am advisedly designating the individual groups as 'chapters' of one 'society' rather than as so many distinct societies though the native term *araxúa'tse* would justify this designation, since it is also applied to the military societies. In recent times some chapters that were once distinct have united from paucity of members in one or both of them.

Altogether I secured something like thirty names of Tobacco chapters, but it would be a very serious error to suppose that even approximately that number ever existed at one time in one of the local divisions. The largest series—of sixteen— was given by Muskrat, but four of her names, *tsipā xī'oce* (Ground-bug?), Squirrel, Wild Cat, Bear, occur in no other list; Old-dog enumerated thirteen chapters, among them those named after Red Paint and a species of hawk, which are peculiar to his account; One-horn's thirteen include a Rattle chapter which no one else referred to except by way of identifying it with the Buffalo; while of Medicine-crow's eleven the Cranes figure in no other report. From what we know of the history of the Tobacco society we may infer that these names were either restricted to a particular period or locality or are simply synonyms of names occurring in the other lists, or represent groups of members linked rather than distinct. For example, the Crazy Dogs from all accounts represent merely a segregation from the Weasel chapter without loss of the sentiment of solidarity. The Strawberries, at least in Lodge Grass, came to supersede the Otters in the manner described below; and the Tobacco chapter is likewise affiliated in some manner with them. Grandmother's-knife links the Eggs with the Ducks, while Medicine-crow explains that while originally the Eggs, Ducks and Prairie-Chickens were distinct they now form only one chapter, the Ducks. Crane-bear said that his group was first designated as Prairie-chicken dancers, but that after the Egg vision of a member (see p. 126) the name was changed accordingly. Shot-in-the-hands regards the Prairie Dogs and Yellow Tobacco people as forming one chapter.

A priori it is of course extremely probable that such processes of separation and absorption as can be traced for the period of the last half century have been going on for many years previous. Thus it is not easy to speculate as to the early constitution of the society. The oldest informant, Strikes-both-ways, a woman of about one hundred years of age, enumerated five Tobacco chapters that existed in her day: the Weasels, Otters, Elks, White Birds, and Tobacco chapter. Gray-bull, a generation younger, gave the Prairie-chicken, Otter, Weasel, Duck, and Tobacco chapters. Mr. Curtis lists the Tobacco, Weasel,

Otter, Blackbird, and Prairie-dog groups. Comparing Mr. Curtis's series for Pryor with those of nine of my informants representing several of the present districts, I find that all mention the Weasels, all but one the Tobacco group, while the Otters, Ducks, and Wolverenes occur seven times each. The last mentioned group, however, was never mentioned as one of the ancient chapters. Altogether it seems reasonable to assume that the Tobacco chapter represents the germ of the whole society and that the Weasels and Otters were among the oldest branches, the antiquity of the Weasels being inferred from their occurrence in every list, that of the Otters from the prominence of the Otter medicine at the planting and of otter emblems (Fig. 1) in a number of the chapters.

The following is a complete list of the names secured. Etymologically the rendering of the ending found in most of the native designations is not quite certain. The suffix *bicé*, *micé* corresponds to the Spanish *hay* or French *il y a*, so that *mapúxtamicé* might be rendered, "There are otters." Sometimes, however, the corresponding forms are recorded with an additional labial, e.g., *mapúxtambicé*, and it is possible that the *am* is a local prefix giving to the word the meaning, "Where there are otters." Again the *am* might represent a decapitated *ham*, "some," so that the rendering would change to "Where there are some otters." Elisions and contractions are extremely common in Crow.

My authorities for the list are Curtis, Strikes-both-ways, Little-rump, One-horn, Muskrat, Gray-bull, Old-dog, Shot-in-the-hand, Grandmother's-knife, No-shinbone, and Medicine-crow.

Weasel (ú <sup>u</sup> tambicé)	Elk (itsfrik'ā <sup>ce</sup> )
Tobacco (í'tsi'tsiamicé or ó <sup>o</sup> pāmicé)	Horse (itsfre)
Otter (mapúxtamicé)	Rattle (í'puxemicé)
Duck (mfaxākamicé)	Ground-bug ? (tsipaxfoce)
Wolverene (mapúxtəkbləramicé)	Species of squirrel (icteréctslə)
Eagle (nakākamicé)	Pine (bātsiamicé)
Crazy Dog (mícg'ewarā <sup>xe</sup> )	Wild-cat (icbfaxice)
Egg (í'g'amicé)	Bear (naxpitsé)
Strawberry (ick'ōcitemicé)	Red Paint (awáxuwāmicé)
Yellow Tobacco (í'tsi'tsecframicé)	White Bird (nakāksiamicé)
Blackbird (baxframicé)	Species of hawk (ba + ipxaxāmbicé)
Prairie-dog (tsi'pé)	Meadowlark (ma + ūwateirāmicé)
Buffalo (bicé micé)	Crane
White Man's dance (ba + ictefndisū <sup>a</sup> ) <sup>1</sup>	Beaver dance (bir'pdisū <sup>a</sup> )
Prairie-chicken (tsftsg'e)	

<sup>1</sup>Old-dog gave bá + ictefrāmbicé, and my then interpreter translated this "White-hair-owners," literally, White-men-where-there-are.



*a*

*b*

*c*

Fig. 1 *a* (50.1-3935), *b* (50.1-3981), *c* (50.1-3945). Digging-stick used in Tobacco Planting; Wolverine Skin, Emblem of Wolverine Chapter; Otter Emblem.



## STRAWBERRY CHAPTER.

This chapter originated in a vision by Medicine-crow and through his influence has become one of the most important branches of the society. Its development may be regarded as typical.

When Medicine-crow was still a young man, he fasted and prayed for four days on the west bank of the Yellowstone, near the Old Agency. He cut off a finger joint and offered it to the Sun. "Sun, look at me, I am poor. I wish to own horses. Make me wealthy. This is why I give you my little finger." The blood poured down. He fell dead. Towards dawn he saw a young man and a young woman coming from the west. They stood before him, and said, "We have seen that you are a poor man, and we have come to see what we can do for you." Each held in one hand a hoop, which was decorated with feathers painted red, and in the other hand a hoop of strawberries. Looking more closely, Medicine-crow saw that each also had a Tobacco 'cherry' and a strawberry tied to the back of the head, as well as the entire body of a red-headed woodpecker. The woman said, "We have come here to let him hear something." Medicine-crow said to himself, "I wonder what it is that they wish to show me." The young man went to the other side of the ridge, but soon reappeared with a herd of horses. He drove them up to Medicine-crow. The young woman said, "Wait, I will go and bring some too." She went over the hill, and returned with a fairly large herd of horses. She said, "My child, I have shown you a good thing." Both said, "We have shown you twenty head of horses." These two young people were the Tobacco plant (i'tsi'tsè) itself; they wore wreaths round the head. It said, "I have shown you all these horses. I am the Tobacco. I want you to join the Tobacco with these crowns." The man said, "Look at this young woman, she is Walks-with-her-dress." Later, Medicine-crow gave this name to my interpreter's little girl. The young woman, half of whose face was painted red, said, "Do not bring any guns. We are going to have the Tobacco planting. I am afraid of a gun." So nowadays no guns are used in connection with the ceremony, and shooting is not permitted. All of Medicine-crow's adoptive children wear crowns of the type shown in the vision. After a while he came to. The people came after him, and took him home, for he was weak from loss of blood. Subsequently he really came to own a great many horses. After he had received this revelation he was adopted by the Otters, gave prominence to his individual vision, and made the organization into the Strawberry chapter. This may, however, apply only to the Lodge Grass district.

As founder of the chapter Medicine-crow naturally occupies an altogether unique position in it. He is the chief Mixer, assisted by Old-dog and in 1912 by Bright-wing as well. According to Old-dog the founder still remained Mixer because he was permitted to sell the privilege four times.<sup>1</sup> In the planting Medicine-crow's wife used to be the leader, but she sold the office to Bright-wing's wife for a horse. Medicine-crow and Old-dog paint the male members of the chapter, and their wives the women. Medicine-crow, of course, dreamt the paint and transferred the

<sup>1</sup>Bread, however, suggests that the mixing privilege held by Medicine-crow subsequently to the sale has nothing to do with his vision but was acquired from someone else.

privilege to Old-dog; he is also the Tobacco-lighter at an adoption. On the other hand, Banks is the owner of the adoption lodge and Banks's wife distributes food among the members, whether because of her husband's ownership of the lodge or not is not quite certain.

The Strawberry chapter has for its emblems wreaths of artificial flowers and in dancing the members hold chokecherry leaves.

#### OTTER CHAPTER.

The membership of this chapter has been greatly reduced, at least in the Lodge Grass district, where Young-crane enumerated only herself, Bad-heart, Bear-don't-walk's wife, Bull-weasel's wife and Crazy-head's second wife as surviving members. When Hunts-the-enemy was living, they still had a place for themselves in the Tobacco garden, but since they no longer have a Mixer they have ceased to plant as a body. Young-crane no longer plants at all, the rest associate with other chapters. While the members had otterskin emblems—in fact, I purchased the one Young-crane had received at her initiation—it appears from other statements that otterskins were also held by dancers of other chapters.

Grandmother's-knife said that at Lodge Grass the Otter and Tobacco chapters are at present associated; the Strawberry chapter is an offshoot from the Otter branch (see p. 117).

From Lone-tree of the Bighorn district I secured the words of two Otter songs:—

##### 1.

bíra	bāwac'irək';	bíra	bāwék.	
My own (dream)	I dreamt;	my own (property)	I owned.	
hirén	fk'akawè!	awé	k'ōtá	fk'akawè!
These	look at them!	The country	whole	look at it!

##### 2.

baríciḱ,	bāwūc-bíḱwak.	bí	wakàtsik',	biricbí	bíḱwak.
I am hungry,	I want to eat.	I am thirsty,		I want to drink.	

It is possible that the otter medicine which plays so important a part in the planting ceremony is in some way associated with the Otter chapter. In 1910 I secured a dewclaw rattle patterned on that of the Big Dogs, but shorter and more elaborately decorated, with plumes, strings of beads, strips of ermine skin, and small bags enclosing Tobacco seeds.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For illustration, see vol. XI of this series, 177.

This rattle was formerly carried in the dance of the Otter chapter and once formed part of the same medicine bundle that contained the sacred otter of the planting procession. The contents of the bundle were subsequently divided between two owners. Gray-bull's wife had kept the rattle in order to attain old age, and several years later when she had died her husband remarked casually that her death might have been due to her selling it to me.

#### WEASEL CHAPTER AND CRAZY DOGS.

The Weasels form one of the largest chapters, of which the Crazy Dogs are regarded as an offshoot. In 1914 the Weasels, Crazy Dogs, and Wolverenes all joined in the planting. My principal informant for the Weasels was Muskrat, who had been Mixer, an intelligent and well-informed but inordinately conceited old woman. Old people resented her exercising the duties of Mixer after selling the privilege. She herself told me that she had sold only a share of the privilege. Her statements were challenged on several points by other Indians,—more particularly her occasional pretensions to having founded the chapter, which in fact are contradictory to her own data. The truth of the matter presumably is that she revived the chapter when it had been reduced in numbers. That the Weasels were organized before Muskrat's day was attested by Strikes-both-ways, the oldest Indian on the reservation. Nevertheless Muskrat's narrative, apart from attempts at self-aggrandizement, rings true: even if she has appropriated some one else's visions, the incidents she recites may be taken as typical of such experiences.

According to one of Muskrat's accounts, there was a man named Old-man-doing-foolish-things (*barê wārihîsa-isá'ke*) who founded the Weasel branch, though the following vision, which she attributes to him, has no apparent connection with this chapter. He went to fast on Cloud's Peak and met two white men. "Here," said they, "take this," and they placed one little human being in each of his hands. Both were white and wore trousers. Awaking he found them and brought them back to camp. His visitants said, "We give you these in order that you may see visions of every kind." The pygmies told him, "If your wife is ever unfaithful, we'll tell you about it." He kept them wrapped up. They told him that whenever they embraced each other it would be an indication that his wife had been with another man. Every day he examined them until one day he actually found them embracing each other. His wife was afraid whenever he opened his bundle. This bundle



is still at Lodge Grass; Hunts-the-enemy had it until his death. All the people are afraid of it. The owner was Muskrat's adoptive father. She continues as follows:—

One day Old-man-doing-foolish-things invited me and my comrade to see the pygmies. We were afraid for we were young and free in our actions. However we had not had any sexual intercourse recently, so the pygmies were not in embrace and their owner said, "ítse arákūk" (Well, i.e., safely, you have seen them), and wrapped them up again. This man made a weasel (emblem) for me, called in all the members and gave me the weasel, whereupon I started the Weasel branch. My husband saw another weasel and I took that also.

Soon after this my younger brother was killed,<sup>1</sup> and mourning I carried the weasel to the peaks of the Wolf Mountains. I slept by a high red peak near the site of Parkman and myself saw a weasel. Thus I had three weasels, my adoptive father's, my husband's, and my own. I looked for a fourth before organizing the branch. Two weasels were killed nearby and both were given to me. Then I started the chapter. I used to make belts for the members, but one day I brought out my weasels, then all wanted to purchase them and bought all except the one given to me by my 'father.' When I was adopted, the chapter had no name, it was just referred to as Old-man-doing-foolish-things' people. When I saw plenty of weasels in my vision I thought there would be many members. I adopted a good many; all the weasel<sup>1</sup> emblems were made by me.

Reverting to her visionary experiences, Muskrat said:—

While in a half-awake condition I felt things running all over me. I thought it was some mice. Before sunrise I lifted the blanket gently from my face and beheld two weasels looking at me. I looked at them. They went on each side of my body, then disappeared over a rock above my head. After they had left me, I cried again till I was tired, then I kept still. An eagle came soaring close and alighted a short distance from me. He looked at me and hopped to within a few paces from me. We both looked at each other. It began to drizzle; when the eagle flapped his wings, it seemed as though the rain ceased, then it would begin again. The eagle began to speak. "I was coming to you first, but the weasels got ahead of me. You had better go home." He dropped a plume from the base of his wing. "This I give you, now go home." He soared off, while I kept watching him for some time. When I got back, I attached the plume at the back near the crown of the head and tied a weasel to each side of the head. I had been told [in the vision] to use weasels found near my home, then on the Little Bighorn. I saw four weasels, going into two holes by pairs. A girl drowned them out, and on the same day I got a fifth. I have obtained several weasels since, but my adoptive children got nearly all of them. Through this medicine I got a great deal of help, receiving horses in payment for the weasels.

Not knowing what to do with the weasels, I went back to the same place to fast, but then I heard some one tell me to go to another place a short distance thence. There I saw a dance lodge with weasels strung out in front of the dancers. I rose to

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<sup>1</sup>From a subsequent explanation it appears that this was Wraps-up-his-tail, famous for his uprising in 1890.

dance, and they said, "Give her the weasel." So I got the weasel to dance with.<sup>1</sup> The second time I and one of my children got up, and someone then said, "Give her the whistle." Then both of us danced.

At the first snowfall I rejoined the Tobacco dance. By that time I had gathered plenty of weasels. This happened a considerable time after my original adoption into the Tobacco society.

Muskrat said that when she joined the society there were only two chapters, the Horses and the Prairie-dogs, and that she was adopted into the Horse chapter. The first part of this statement is certainly erroneous (see p. 114).

On another occasion Muskrat had a vision of how to mix. She used a combination of onions, 'bear-food' (turnip), wild grapes, *mā+isacpīte* ('black potato') weed, a black root, a mountain weed poisonous for horses, cow chips, and the dirt from a mole hill. According to her, there was a lapse of five years during which the chapter did not plant for lack of a Mixer, but as a result of her vision planting was resumed. In 1914 she mixed four ingredients, with water and tobacco,—black potato, *bi'tsirī watsūa* ('cactus-berries') and *bicēti-kicē* ('buffalo-eyes-resembling'); on the following morning she added *māsare* (mole dirt) and manure.

From Gray-bull's account it appears that Muskrat was by no means the only Mixer, though she may have been the most prominent one. He himself held the office for three years, mixing for some members of the chapter; while other Mixers attended to the rest. At the end of that period he sold the privilege. He says that each Mixer had a slightly different method. He himself used chokecherries, the leaf of a box-elder chewed by himself, a wild onion crushed between the fingers, the roots of the wild lily, and cow chips—all of these finely pulverized.

In addition to being Mixer, Muskrat also acted as Painter, decorating the forehead and upper part of the face with red paint. At one time she also owned the adoption lodge privilege, but she sold it.

In 1914 Muskrat gave an essentially different account of her vision. She then said that there had been a Weasel chapter consisting of an old man, his wife, and a very few followers. After giving her a weasel, they took the emblem away from her and for this reason she grieved and went out to fast in the mountains. A cloud came up, so she went to the rocks for shelter and lay down to sleep. A weasel appeared, went on her

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<sup>1</sup>Before using weasels, the informant explained later, some held boughs of trees to dance with.

neck, causing a queer feeling, and entered her stomach. She heard it whistling with all its might. The weasel said, "This is what we want to give you." Then he gave her a whistle and sang this song:—

ú'te	fk'uctsírúk;	ópe	ik'uctsí	wa'tséwik'.
The weasels	are coming out;	Tobacco	to come out	I cause.

In a Tobacco dance an old man asked her to get up and dance, then Muskrat sang this song. When she awoke, she looked round and saw nothing. Ever since then she has had control over weasels, and through her the Weasel chapter gained its renown. The weasel warned her against having her kidneys struck lest she go into a trance, so other people respect her and take care lest anything bump against her. Only lately she dreamt of owning some weasels and soon after this a weasel was brought to her.

The most interesting feature of this account is the introduction of the *bātsirá'pe* motive, which was also encountered in connection with other chapters. A *bātsirá'pe* is a mysterious animal or object that enters a person's body and part of which is made to come out at a special ceremony called the Bear Song dance. Muskrat added that on another fasting occasion a horse had also entered her body.

Bear-gets-up described a typical Weasel bundle as containing several stuffed weaselskins (Fig. 2); one with a ribbon round the waist after the fashion of a saddle blanket; another with different kinds of yarn braided together for a collar; a third with the same yarn combination unbraided and in the weasel's mouth. In 1911 the informant no longer owned the medicines he had received as a novice because at later adoptions the initiates had chosen some of the medicines from his bag. Some of the Weasel members had otter belts with little hoofs at the end, causing them to make a rattling sound when moved. There was a special song for those having these belts to get up and dance; and when they danced their belts rattled. Some of the other chapters said, "Those are just like Crazy Dogs," whence this name. Once enemies were expected and Bear-gets-up had on his horse a Crazy Dog belt owned by his wife. The man who had originated the Crazy Dog branch came to him and asked him for it, saying, "I do not know whether this is for war, I'll try it." However, it proved a false alarm, the enemy did not come, and there was no chance to test the virtues of the belt.

Grandmother's-knife confirmed Bear-gets-up's statements as to the Crazy Dogs. They are simply a subdivision of the Weasels distinguished by otterskin belts with little bells at the end. They shook these like the



Crazy-Dogs-wishing-to-die, whence the name. According to this informant, the Crazy Dogs and Weasels form the largest Tobacco chapter.

Arm-round-the-neck, another Weasel, added some interesting data. When he was a boy the dance of the members differed from that of today. They did not stand up but knelt with whistles in their mouths, which they blew during the dance, while holding white and yellow weasels in their hands. The women still use weasels to dance with, but the male



Fig. 2 a (50.1-3962ab), b (50.1-3887), c (50.1-3946), d (50.1-3948). Small Tobacco Bags, Rattle, Crane Emblem, and Weasel Emblem.

members no longer do so, Arm-round-the-neck does not know why not. Now the men use sticks and feathers to dance with. Sometimes men and women dance jointly but in general separately, and in the old days it was the same way. When adopted, the informant's wife received a weasel, the wing of a bird, and an otter, while he merely got a shell necklace, the only thing he had selected. Nearly all the chapters use otters, but only the Weasels have weasel emblems.

Gray-bull said that while he had seen men hold weasels in the dance this was usually done only by the women. Personally he would dance with weasel skins now (1913) if his wife were living, for he had dreamed two weasel songs. In the old days weasel skins were not taken along for the planting ceremony, as is customary now.

#### YELLOW TOBACCO CHAPTER.

Shows-a-fish gave the following origin account. A man was mourning on the prairie and had a vision of a lizard. He went home and made a buckskin shirt with fringed seams at the side and bottom; on each shoulder he drew the picture of a lizard. The shirt was painted yellow. He also used yellow calico and a red blanket at the Tobacco planting. Further he would tie a small package of Tobacco, beaded at the opening, as well as a yellow object to a chokecherry stick and plant it before him at a dance. This method was passed on from generation to generation.

While this last sentence implies considerable antiquity, other informants ascribe the origin of the chapter to Mosquito (Apákec), at a time when an old Crow living in Lodge Grass was a young man. Mosquito had been adopted into the Tobacco society by Muskrat's father, but as the result of a dream he founded the Yellow Tobacco chapter. This differed from other chapters in the mixture used for planting. The Tobacco seeds were the same, but the Yellow Tobacco people had different ingredients otherwise; they used wild onions, mole-dirt, buffalo chips, and young willow roots. As a result of his vision the Yellow Tobacco entered Mosquito's body as his *bâtsir'pe*, and sometimes it would get out of him. Gros-Ventre's father-in-law and my informant's brother (= Mosquito's son?) had the same power, which was manifested at the Bear Song dance.

Old-woman (Xárie), who seems to have been Mosquito's daughter, was the Mixer of the Yellow Tobacco chapter, having obtained the privilege from her father. She said that sometimes she had only mixed for from three to five members, then again for a good many. Though properly adopted into this chapter, she was at the time of my interview connected with the Wolverenes, "Because her brother was a member and owned the medicine."

Little-rump admitted that Old-woman was the principal Mixer, but said that Maggie was likewise and he himself had been once, but had given up the office after his wife's death. Similarly, he had bought the right to distribute food before his wife's death but used it only once.

The ownership of the adoption lodge he gave to Magpie when he adopted him. Magpie's wife, as well as others, have the privilege of distributing food.

Little-rump said he still continued to dream about the Yellow Tobacco and heard the Tobacco sing. He dreams in any place, indoors or outdoors, night or day; usually he learns the songs he hears in his dreams. "Some of them I consider sacred. When I hear a song and have good luck immediately after that, then I consider the song sacred."

The members wore yellow shirts in battle, but not all owned such, they had to be specially purchased. This was the only chapter to use yellow shirts. Little-rump's wife had a yellow dress and blanket.

A Yellow Tobacco bundle exhibited by Shows-a-fish contained two women's dresses and a man's shirt, all of yellow cloth, with small Tobacco bags tied to them. He said that in dancing the members held yellow mufflers in their hands, or boughs with foliage. Cuts-the-picketed mule gave a circumstantial account of the members' equipment and decoration. The men wore yellow shirts with ermine skin trimming on the upper arms; all their clothing was yellow, necklaces were of yellow beads,<sup>1</sup> and the face and hair were painted yellow. The women wore yellow dresses and blankets, bracelets of beads, and otterskin crowns. Each had a strip of blue cloth tied to the hair and a yellow eagle plume to the back of the head, while the men wore one on one of the temples. The women all had a buckskin image of a lizard, and two of the men wore such images in the back and had yellow beadwork ornamentation on their sleeves. All had yellow mufflers. While dancing they held a forked stick long enough to touch the ground. To this there were tied a yellow handkerchief and a small Tobacco bag, decorated with yellow beadwork and an eagle plume tied to it.

In the Tobacco garden this chapter planted at the extreme right(?). Their number has been very much reduced of late years. In Lodge Grass there were only five in 1911: Shows-a-fish, Walks-on-the-ice, Bull-weasel, Old-woman, Cuts-the-picketed--mule.

Shot-in-the-hand (Big Horn District) said the Prairie-Dog and Yellow Tobacco chapters were identical.

#### EGG CHAPTER.

The formation of this chapter is typical. Fire-weasel had been adopted into the Wolverine chapter. Soon after this event the brother of his initiator shot and killed himself. Then Fire-weasel's initiator

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<sup>1</sup>One-horn said the necklaces were of Tobacco seeds colored yellow.



wandered about mourning and discovered a nest of eggs, one of which was different from the rest. He carried it away and dreamt about it. It entered his body through his mouth. Thereafter, whenever the people had a Tobacco dance at a certain song the egg would come out of his mouth, but afterwards go in again. This feature was so conspicuous that the name of the chapter was altered accordingly. Still later it was renamed for the Duck. Once Fire-weasel and his adopter were taking part in a Tobacco dance. At the appropriate song the 'father' spat out the egg and gave it to Fire-weasel to hold during the dance, after which he swallowed it again.

Arm-round-the-neck says the founder of the chapter was the father of Three-foretops (i'g'apí ria-ráwíc), a middle-aged man living at Lodge Grass. He has seen him show up the egg at a daytime dance and when people had done looking at it he put it back into his mouth again. Unlike the people who exhibited their *bâtsirə'pe* at the Bear Song dance Three-foretops' father did not go into a trance during his exhibition. He adopted a man who also spat forth an egg, but thereby he did not lose his own power. This second man showed the egg more frequently than his Master. However, my informant was inclined to regard his performances as spurious; the egg he exhibited was too round for a real egg and too heavy in proportion to its size.

Fire-weasel said that he himself once found a little smooth stone in a nest of eggs and has kept it ever since. He dictated the following two songs of his chapter:—

## 1.

bă-watsírik;	i'g'é	batsírik.
Something I am hunting;	eggs	I am hunting.

## 2.

kam-bí-ré'k-ù-rək,	baréwik.	i'g'é	búcbi	baréwik.
If someone sends me somewhere,	I shall go.	Eggs	to eat	I shall go.

At Pryor I purchased a blanket which Henry Russell's wife had worn when a member of the Egg chapter (see Fig. 3). The visionary who had seen the blanket originally and from whom my informants had obtained it was dead in 1910, besides the Russells had left the Egg people and joined the Otters, hence they were less reluctant to part with the object than would otherwise have been the case. What they actually purchased was the *right* to have such a blanket made as the visionary described; for this Henry paid him a horse worth \$62. Then

he had to hire a good draftsman to do the painting, which cost him another five dollars, and finally he had to buy the appropriate feather decoration. The angular horseshoe at the bottom of the blanket symbolizes good luck with horses. The drawing is that of an eagle in the clouds, which the Russells take to represent Thunder, though the dreamer did not expressly so identify it. This visionary had been very



Fig. 3 (50.1-3987). Blanket of Egg Chapter.

poor, owning only three horses. He went to the mountains to fast and saw the blanket. Then he rapidly became wealthy and was fortunate in all his enterprises. He sold land for which other tribesmen had never received more than \$600 for \$2,200, and died as one of the richest Crow Indians, which his people ascribe to the vision. Once in the spring and once in the fall he would visit the Russells, bid them unwrap the bundle containing the blanket, and prophesy good luck for the couple that season. Then Henry always gave him five dollars or an equivalent present.

## BLACKBIRD CHAPTER.

This chapter originated within the lifetime of Gros-Ventre-horse, my informant. There was a man named Breath, whose father had the blackbird for his medicine and gave a stuffed blackbird to his son. Breath was already a member of the Tobacco society and had adopted people into it, who also wanted the blackbird for their medicine. He dreamt a song about the blackbird and distributed stuffed blackbirds among his 'children,' thus founding a new chapter.

In dancing the members would tie blackbirds to the backs of their blankets, which themselves were black in imitation of the birds. Two kinds of paint were used, according to individual choice. Some painted the face with heavy red paint from the eyes up and with light red from the eyes down, with red ground-paint rubbed on the hair. Others put red paint on the face and one very large black spot on each cheekbone.

Since there is no head to the chapter at Lodge Grass, Gros-Ventre-horse joined White-man-runs-him in the Weasel chapter. Once an Indian from the Big Horn District came to Lodge Grass to plant in the name of the Blackbird chapter, for members are not obliged to plant in their own district.

## BUFFALO CHAPTER.

This is a chapter of recent origin, organized about 1907 according to One-horn, while Pretty-enemy puts the date about twenty-six years farther back, which seems more probable.

Big-shoulder-blade's brother had been killed and he went out on the prairie to fast. On the other side of the Yellowstone he slept on a hill called Ridge-to-the-buffalo or Bear's Lodge. His brother had been sneaking up to the enemy's camp; he was shot near the junction of the Tongue and Yellowstone rivers, tried to get home, but was found dead on the ridge where Big-shoulderblade slept. There he dreamt. The buffalo adopted him and gave him medicine.

He slept four days on the ridge. Where the sun came up he saw four young men to correspond with the four nights he had spent there. They came up to him, each wearing a buffalo skin cap with horns. The first man had one of these slim unjointed willows. One of the men said, "This is a good strong thing; if you want it, take it." The second one had a straight pipe. One of his companions said, "This is strong too, if you lose the tracks and pour smoke on it, you will find the enemy's tracks." The third man had his cap covered with white dirt; he was one-eyed. "That is good too, but the person who owns it will have only one eye." This was the strongest of the four. The fourth had the horns covered with red paint and the crown also painted red. This one sang a song. "You have been traveling about here for a long time. You will be repaid and take revenge. Sing this song and you shall kill the enemy as a reward."



After returning from this vision Big-shoulderblade told the Indians about it, but they were skeptical. However, he set out on a war party with Plenty-coups and killed a young enemy just as old as his brother. Then he became a leader of a war party and made the Buffalo dance. Afterwards Leads-the-wolf adopted him into the Tobacco chapter. Big-shoulderblade made caps for his adoptive sons and named the chapter for the Buffalo. Hence Pretty-enemy considers the Buffalo and Tobacco chapters identical.

The women put red paint in small patches on each cheek and on the forehead. Since Big-shoulderblade's decease White-man-runs-him is Painter. He also has a buffalo horn cap obtained through adoption by Big-shoulderblade's children. The first of these caps was made for Red-wolf's brother, who on being adopted by the founder was called He-has-the-horns. All the men wore a piece of buffalo tail on their hats. A buffalo tail was also decorated with little bells and made into a horse's necklace; furthermore, from the chest part of the buffalo hide they made an object to be worn over the horse collar by the horses.

#### EAGLE CHAPTER.<sup>1</sup>

In the generation preceding that of Cuts-the-picketed-mule a man named Sore-tail had a vision which led him to institute this chapter.

Sore-tail had been the poorest man of all until he went out to the Wolf Mountains in quest of a revelation; he did not even have a horse to ride. The Sun was his medicine<sup>2</sup> and visited him as he was lying on his blanket, saying, "I will send my messenger to you." The Eagle was his messenger; on arriving he said to Sore-tail, "You shall be poor no more, the butte of the Wolf Mountains shall be your home." Then he saw a tipi with a special number and arrangement of poles: there were four main poles, eleven poles on each side, and two on each side of the doorway. It was ornamented with differently colored streamers.

After his vision, when they moved camp he had seven mules to carry his tipi poles and he came to have a herd of from seventy to a hundred horses. His daughter had elk teeth down to her feet; she would always stay in the rear of the tent, and her part was fixed with red flannel. His sister-in-law used nothing but a striped blanket, his wife a white and red blanket. The backrest frame was very high and was covered by two buffalo hides on each side; he had a special horse to transport it. His children were ornamented with shells. There was no one in camp like him, he was by far the richest of all the Crow. Anyone wishing to go on the warpath consulted him, and he sent them out with a blue

<sup>1</sup>*nakáka* means "bird," *nakák-díoxe*, "eagle," but the specifying adjective is often omitted, the eagle being designated as the bird *par excellence*.

<sup>2</sup>The statement was added that Sore-tail was the owner of a medicine doll, such as was used in the Sun dance, but whether it was acquired before, at, or after the vision described is not certain.

feather on the neck. He even sent a woman out on the warpath and she came back victorious.

Sore-tail said he wished to have a Tobacco dance in the lodge that had been revealed to him. He had many followers and told them he would prepare the tipi for the dance. In the rear he hung up an eagle on a shield. He stripped the eagle tail of its feathers and dyed them red; this was the men's medicine, to be tied to the back of the head. The smaller wing feathers were for the women. He painted the upper part of the face of all the members red, he mixed red and yellow paint, decorating the hair with it and also the men only on each shoulder of their white shirts. On the left shoulder the man had an eagle plume ornamented with blue beads. All the women held an eagle wing during the dance, powdered with red paint, the men had a whip with an attachment of bells, which they would swing when rising to dance, at the same time saying:—

ī	wasāc'g'e-wic	bíəwə	hinnék'.	kam-bébiəwəm	bēk'.
By means	my horses to have	I wish	this.	I to own wished	I have it.

(Free translation: By means of this I wish to own horses. I wanted to own it, I am about to own it.)

In uttering the last word they would press their hand on the breast.

When rising to dance all the women had to face the mountains, holding their best blanket in the left hand and an eagle fan in the right. Sore-tail would then say: "After the camps are well-settled and when I came,—let us sing that song." This was the song:—

aríə-k'ō	bōrək,	baeūo	dúptum	báwik'.		
From the rear	when I come,	my songs	two	I shall have.		
miəxbáriə	bát-bik'.					
My medicines	I shall carry on my back.					
díə-xaxuə	dī	watsick'ātuk.	bī	wī	ík'ara!	tsúke
All of you	you	are poor.	Me	me	look at!	Over the hills
k'ō	wa'kucí'we,	tsúke	k'ō	bōk'.		
there	I have stayed,	over the hills	thence	I have come.		
bī	rakák' déexem,	bōk'.	tsé'tic	kuc	barímbik'.	
I	am an eagle,	I come.	Wolf Mountains	towards	I shall walk.	

Cuts-the-picketed-mule gave the following additional details as to the equipment of members. Sore-tail made a robe from a buffalo hide with the hair; it was supposed to be an Eagle robe and he attached an

eagle plume to the back. There were three such robes, and it was used by the old men in dancing. Sore-tail himself used a sharp-pointed cane in dancing; he painted it red and tied to it the tail of an old striped eagle. For the women he prepared four eagle plumes to be worn under the first dress. He told them they would acquire property through wearing them. They had to wear red dresses, on the shoulder blades there were rings of blue beadwork, and sometimes between the rings a beaded eagle. On the left shoulder was an eagle claw on a string. All wore abalone earrings.<sup>1</sup> The bracelet for the right hand was made of large cut beads mixed with abalone shells; that for the left hand was composed of greenish beads, one abalone shell, and one white shell, such as is sometimes worn in the ear. The women's breast ornaments consisted of a small package of Tobacco with beads, abalone shells, and elk teeth hanging down. Round the ankles they wore white beads and round the shinbone also a band of such beads. The middle of the moccasin was decorated with an eagle claw, on each side of which were two rings of beads. Sore-tail made a necklace of beads with an elk tooth hanging down; the men had a necklace with a big shell and white bead in the middle. All had wristlets of eagle thumb claws.

To the first four men he adopted Sore-tail gave whistles. The dress of the leader in the planting ceremony was fringed at the bottom; it was decorated with four rings of beads, one above the other, both in front and in the back, and with an eagle plume in the back. The hair was tied in front and painted red; the skin of a black buffalo calf with the hair was worn as a robe.<sup>2</sup> The leader's blanket is said to have been acquired from the founder on the occasion of the first planting. Then Sore-tail likewise tied one rattle to a woman's belt and another to a woman's dress about the thigh. On the same occasion a woman paid Sore-tail a horse loaded with gifts for the abalone and white-shell necklace.

The women's medicine bags were of elkhide, painted with ground paint, fringed all over and with blue beads along the edges; in the middle there was a cross of blue beads.

My informant said that she belonged both to this and the Yellow Tobacco chapter, but because of the paucity of members in the latter she plants with the Eagles. She considers herself a member of both because when she was adopted both chapters sang songs.

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<sup>1</sup>Subsequently the informant spoke of an abalone ring in the right ear, and a white shell one in the left.

<sup>2</sup>It is not clear whether this last statement refers only to the leader.



Gray-bull says that eagle feather fans are not peculiar to this chapter, although from Arm-round-the-neck's statement it would appear so. Perhaps they were originally associated with the Eagles and borrowed by other branches. Old-dog says they were sacred and were to be moved in different ways during the dance. The wrapping of the handle is decorated with beads.

## ADOPTION.

### GENERAL ACCOUNT.

As explained, the right to plant Tobacco depends on membership in the society, which must be acquired by adoption. The adopter stands towards the novice in a parental relationship, which is expressed in a variety of phrases used in this connection. Thus, the adopter is called the *aksé*, parent, of the initiate and the entire proceedings are designated as *dákbišúə*, child-having. "He adopted me" is *mī rākēk'*, i.e., "he made me his child; and to express the idea that he and his wife were initiated together an informant said, *mī āpa wici'k' ūk'*, "in my company they caused her to be born."

Certain other relationships logically follow from this view of adoption. Gray-bull was adopted by White-stripe-across-the-face, who in turn had been adopted by Bell-rock; he regards and addresses these men as 'father' (*axé*) and 'grandfather' (*axé isá'ke*), respectively, while the wives of 'grandfathers' are called 'grandmothers,' *masa'kāare*. This mode of regarding ceremonial relationships seems to be general, but for the following I have as yet no corroborative evidence from other witnesses. Of the four men who gave him songs during his initiation, Gray-bull considered three his 'grandfathers'; only Raise-up he regarded as his 'father' because he was about Gray-bull's age. Gray-bull adds that generally he addressed all those older than himself and older in membership as 'father,' or 'mother,' while those of about his own age were 'brother' and 'sister' to him. Individuals adopted into the chapter after his initiation addressed him either as 'elder brother' or as 'father,' according to their own age. Those adopted during the same season were, in a sense, joking-relatives;<sup>1</sup> however, they only joked if a man took back horses he had offered as a present to those adopting him, or was guilty of some similar breach of etiquette.

<sup>1</sup>See Lowie, (a), 204.

So far as the ceremonial father-child relationship is concerned, its consequences normally persist not only in nomenclature but in sentiment and action as well. This naturally applies less to the most recent period than to earlier times. Still Gray-bull, while he no longer gives horses to an adopted daughter, presents her with money whenever he has any, and speaks with great veneration of Bell-rock, who, to be sure, is not only his 'grandfather' but also the most famous warrior among the Crow now living (1914). In former times Gray-bull would bring Bell-rock and White-stripe-across-the-face a whole buffalo or beef as a gift, and when returning from a successful raid he would give them some horses, while they would make return gifts.

Usually husband and wife are adopted together by the same individual. Indeed throughout the ceremonial performance women play a prominent part. It is certainly regarded as preferable for a couple to belong to the same chapter, and I know of at least one instance where a young man assisted his wife in a Tobacco planting although he was not even a member of the society. In this regard, however, there are individual variations. For example, while Little-rump's former wife joined the Yellow Tobacco chapter in his company, his present wife does not belong to the society, takes no part in the spring ceremony, and refuses to be adopted on the plea that she is blind. If she were a member of the Weasel chapter, her husband thinks she might sometimes join his chapter and sometimes her own.

Normally a member remains in the chapter into which he has been adopted. In recent years a number of the chapters have become practically extinct and the survivors joined other subdivisions of the society. A second reason may have been borrowed from the practices of the clubs and military societies: a chapter desirous of securing the membership of an individual might induce him to change his affiliations by a substantial gift. Thus, the Russell couple of Pryor, who entered as Egg people, were later persuaded to become Otters. This procedure impresses me as decidedly modern and not in consonance with the original spirit of the society. Finally, there is the possibility of a man's having a personal misunderstanding with his adopter. This might induce him to leave his chapter and seek admission to another, but he would have to pay only for the new songs he received. Two such instances were cited by Gray-bull. A Weasel had been in the habit of borrowing horses from him, and when refused on one occasion he left the chapter for another. Another man, whom my informant presented with an elk-tooth dress, gave nothing in return; there was a misunderstanding in consequence and the

niggard resigned his membership. On the whole such cases must be viewed as exceptional since the ceremonial relationships assumed by adoption usually do not fail to affect an individual's personal attitude towards his fellow-members.

The motive for entrance into the society varies, but two reasons appear again and again; the novice is induced to join by a substantial gift, or he is fulfilling a pledge.

Members frequently present people with gifts in order to make them join; this seems to me connected with the notion that it is honorable to have stood sponsor for many new initiates. The individual accounts of my informants often refer to this feature. Little-rump gave Magpie a horse, thus inducing him to enter the Yellow Tobacco chapter; Muskrat similarly joined the organization after receiving a horse, and Old-dog allowed himself to be initiated by Bear-wolf on receipt of ten dollars. Sometimes a man is left in the dark for a while as to his would-be sponsor's intentions. For example, Bear-gets-up was living with the River Crow when a few lodges arrived from another band. The old men among the visitors called him. He took a horse to them and entered a tent, where he was entertained with food. Then an old woman gave him buckskin leggings and moccasins. They did not tell him what they wanted and he went out. Some time after this some one informed him that they wished to adopt him into the Tobacco lodge and that that was the reason for their giving him presents. He consented and was duly initiated. Of course, in this as in other cases, the value of the fee ultimately paid by the novice far exceeds that of the gift received by him. Thus Bear-gets-up paid four horses and an abundance of quilts and other property. This group of cases recalls the mode of admission into the old military societies and the purely secular clubs of today, and the practice may have been borrowed from them.

The second group of instances presents an aspect more consistent with the ancient seriousness of the Tobacco society and also recalls the ceremonial usages of other Plains tribes, such as the Arapaho. A man who was seriously sick or whose child was sick would make a vow to join the Tobacco society in case of recovery, fulfilment being entirely conditional. Also a man going on the warpath might say, "*acbā'-ihé-ha-māret-dək, bacúsū ātēwīk*." (If I strike some enemy, I will join the Tobacco society). A few concrete variations of this motive will not be out of place.

When Cuts-the-picketed-mule's daughter was born, a warrior naming her promised that she would not die young, whereupon the parents declared that if she lived they would let her be adopted into the Tobacco



society by him. However, the warrior was slain in battle and the man who had initiated him brought Cuts-the-picketed-mule food, dresses, blankets, and asked her consent for the daughter's initiation, which was granted. Old-woman had been very sick and her father announced that any one who cured her might adopt her into the Tobacco society; Pretty-enemy's father succeeded and accordingly initiated her into his chapter. Crazy-head had been imprisoned in an eastern jail as a consequence of his part in Wraps-up-his-tail's uprising and vowed that if he regained his freedom he would enter the Tobacco society.

Gray-bull's case is interesting, being essentially an anomalous case of the first type. He had joined a war party led by White-stripe-across-the-face. The leader ordered him to bring a horse from the Dakota camp but refused to accept it when brought, saying, "I want to adopt you." After returning to the Crow camp White-stripe-across-the-face invited Gray-bull to a feast and again announced his intention of adopting him. Gray-bull was eager to get the leader's war-medicine and asked whether he would give it to him if he allowed himself to be adopted. White-stripe-across-the-face answered affirmatively and accordingly Gray-bull was adopted that summer together with his wife. Aided by their relatives, they paid the adopter thirty-three horses, of which Gray-bull alone contributed ten.

There is a quite general consensus of opinion among the older informants that in early times the membership of the society was small and that older people predominated. A prairie-dog appearing to a visionary is believed to have made this prophecy: "When all of you join the Tobacco society, you will be poor!" In spite of this admonition more and more people joined, so that about 1910 perhaps a majority of the Indians, even young people, were members. The explanation in my opinion lies in the increased importance of the social at the expense of the religious factor. The pattern in vogue for increasing membership in the secular clubs was applied to the Tobacco organization, and the number of vows for the attainment of serious ends decreased in proportion.

After an adoption has been decided upon, the proceedings may be divided into (a) the candidate's preparation; (b) the public initiation in a specially constructed lodge; (c) the sweatlodge ritual; (d) the selection of medicines by the novice. The last three stages occupy only about twenty-four hours, but between the preparatory period and the initiation several months may intervene. The normal thing seems to be that a candidate is instructed during the winter, being taught to

sing four Tobacco songs<sup>1</sup> and attending whatever dances may be celebrated by his chapter, and is publicly adopted during the week of the Fourth of July festivities. In former times the initiation took place earlier in the year, that is, immediately after the spring planting of the Tobacco.

In describing the adoption ceremonial I think it best to premise two connected accounts by trustworthy informants and to supplement these with personal observations and statements gathered from other natives.

A generalized account of the proper order of events was furnished by Plenty-hawk of the Pine chapter.

Sometimes a man who has fasted and dreamt in his day and enjoys a high reputation in the tribe is approached by a remote relative, accompanied by his wife if he is married, and asked to adopt the visitors into the Tobacco society.<sup>2</sup> The medicine-man then takes the couple to his lodge, and teaches them the Tobacco songs. After these songs some *isé* root is put on hot ashes, and the couple bend over to smoke themselves with the incense. Then the 'father' says, "You had better stay here to-night," and has a bed arranged for them. When they have gone to bed and the light has been extinguished, he says, "Now, listen until you fall asleep and dream." They listen to his rattling and singing until they fall asleep. The 'father' tries to make them dream. He sings four times, smoking during the periods of intermission, then he retires for the night. Early in the morning he bids his 'children' take a swim, preparing a breakfast while they are in the water. After the meal he says, "Tell me what you dreamt last night." The young man replies, "I had a dream last night, I saw the Tobacco dance and heard a song." Then the old man questions the woman, who replies, "I dreamt of the Tobacco dance and learned a song." The 'father' says, "Very well, I will make medicines for you. Now go and bring me two willows, one for each of you." When the willows have been brought, he sharpens them at one end, and plants them in front of his 'children.' Some Tobacco, wrapped in buckskin decorated with beadwork, is suspended from the husband's neck, and another piece of buckskin with Tobacco is pinned over the wife's heart. Then the 'father' bids the couple go home. Thereafter, when a Tobacco dance is celebrated, he calls his 'children.' He has prepared a good drum for the man, gives it to him, and takes him to the Tobacco dance. When they have arrived at the site, the old man takes back his drum, makes *isé* incense, smokes the drum, strikes it four times, and then returns it to his 'son.' All the singers are seated in a circle in one part of the lodge. The 'father' says to the young man, "Take the drum over there, and help the singers." The 'son' sits down and does as he has been told, while the girls dance.

Sometimes a sick person says, "If I do not die but recover, I will join the Tobacco dance and have someone adopt me." After his recovery the people send him food, which he accepts and distributes among his relatives. He is not taken in immediately, but from time to time his 'father' gives him food and property. After a considerable period of time has elapsed, the 'father' dispatches a messenger to the candidate, saying to him, "Go to So-and-so; we are going to have a Tobacco dance and will take

<sup>1</sup>If he is married, he learns two, and his wife two.

<sup>2</sup>Here, then, the initiative is taken by the candidate, apparently without a vow.

this boy in." The messenger goes, and returns with the boy's answer. The 'father' then takes the candidate to the dance, the novice walking behind the rest and entering last of all. A great medicineman is asked to sit by the novice, who neither sings nor dances, but watches the actions of the members. He is not permitted to fall asleep. Food is brought in and distributed, the largest portion falling to the candidate's share. After the performance is over, the members go home.

Whenever the 'father' again hears of a dance, he sends for the boy, telling him, "We wish to take you in again." The messenger brings the boy, who is once more taken to the performance. He walks in the rear, and is again made to sit next to the medicineman. A tobacco pipe is filled and passed round.<sup>1</sup> Food is distributed at the close of the dance, the boy again receiving the largest share. Then all the members go home. A week or a month later there is another Tobacco dance. There is a repetition of the same procedure, except that the medicineman is absent and some other distinguished man is hired to sit by the novice.

Finally the adopter says, "I will give my son some songs." He prepares a great meal and sends for the boy once more. *Isé* is smoked for incense, and the pipe is passed round. The man who sets the pipe circulating is the first to sing some of his songs. Certain women rise and dance. After two or three songs they sit down. Then everyone is asked to keep still and listen. The 'father' has four distinct pieces of property prepared, and gives one to the first singer, who is known as the Tobacco-lighter. The rest of the property is given to others. After the Tobacco-lighter has again sung four different songs, a second man does the same, followed by a third and a fourth singer, who do likewise. The Tobacco-lighter says to the novice, "I have sung four different songs; pick out the one you like best." Then the 'father' chooses one of the songs for the novice. In the same fashion a song is selected from the three other sets. Then the Tobacco-lighter rises, and stands by the door, facing the center of the tent. The candidate stands beside him. The second singer takes the place on the other side of the novice. The Tobacco-lighter takes a rattle, and sings the selected song. All the singers take up the tune, chanting at first in a low tone of voice. They teach the novice to make the proper motions. He sings himself. The second time the song is chanted in a louder voice; this time they mean something by their song. The same song is sung three times. Then the second singer sings the song selected from his set. When this song has been sung, the two remaining singers take the candidate between them. First the singer to the left, and then the singer to the right, sings the song selected from his set. When the novice has learned the songs, all of them resume their seats. The candidate receives a rattle and takes part in the singing. At the close of the dance, the novice again receives the largest share of the food. They say, "We will let this boy be born." Then they have certain wise men erect an adoption lodge.

The Lodge-builder (Owner) orders the people to get four wagons for transporting the requisite poles. They get to a proper place, and look for straight trees. When they have found a suitable tree, they stand under it, and mash charcoal. The Builder puts some of the charcoal on his hands, rubs it on the tree, takes a rattle, and sings at the foot of the tree. Another man stands ready with an ax. As soon as the song is ended, this man touches the tree with his ax. A second song is sung. The same man again moves his ax and touches the tree with it. A third song is sung in the same way.

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<sup>1</sup>At this point Plenty-hawk explained that this is also done at the boy's first visit to the lodge.



At the fourth song, the tree-cutter strikes the tree, which is then cut down. All the poles are cut and put into the four wagons to be taken to the dance site. The Builder next says, "I want the boys to go for some ground-cedar (=juniper?)." They go, pack cedars on a horse's back, and bring the best cedar to the Builder, who calls on members of the Night-hawk and Big-Ear-Hole clubs, and says, "Help put up the lodge poles." The Sioux club and Last Dancers also assist in the erection of the lodge. Three of the poles are tied together near their ends with red willow branches and ground-cedars. A hide is wrapped over the willows and ground-cedars. This skin is taken, turned to the flesh side, and painted black. When this has been done, they all take hold of the poles and raise them. Other poles are set up on this foundation. The builders stand aside, and then go home.

The next morning<sup>1</sup> the Builder goes to several lodges, asking for the loan of lodge covers. Some people refuse. Two lodge covers are borrowed for use with the adoption lodge. The inside of the lodge has to be prepared. The remaining ground-cedars are spread in the middle, and charcoal is mashed up. Then a tall young man is called. The Builder and his wife sit near him, and another woman also sits by him. The charcoal is spread in front of the quartet, three of whom take the charcoal in their hands, while the Builder shakes his rattle and sings. The three others do not sing, but move their hands. When the song is ended, they put out their hands and pretend to throw the charcoal away. This procedure is gone through with two other songs, after which the charcoal is actually thrown on the site of the rectangular altar to be marked out later. The Builder then takes the charcoal and spreads it over the area of the oblong. Then they leave the lodge.

The 'father' now summons his particular Tobacco chapter, such as the Otters, Pines, or whatever group he belongs to. They assemble in a large tipi and begin to paint. There are two painters, one on each side of the lodge. They<sup>2</sup> carry their medicine bags on their backs. These bags are smoked with *isé* incense, and are opened and set to face the door. The people send for a willow branch. When it has been brought in, they tie a kerchief to it. The 'father' sends for his 'son.' When he arrives, one of the painters is asked to paint him; if he refuses, the other painter is requested to do the work. The girls participating are painted by the women, while one of the two painters paints the (male) dancers. The tyro doffs all his clothes, and is re-clothed by his 'father.' All those present rise. The singers sing a special song used when going out of the preliminary lodge. The person carrying a crown of ground-cedar moss gives it to the woman who is to lead the procession, and she is further given a pipe with tobacco. Four different songs are sung before they start out. At the fourth song they make their exit. No one is supposed to pass in front of the leader. After walking a certain distance, they stop and sing four songs there. They repeat this at two other halting places, then they enter the adoption lodge. The women are carrying their medicine-bags on their backs; they pass around the altar and set down their bags so that they face the altar. Then they call for one of the best war-captains,—one who has killed a whole family of enemies. He stands by the door, and some rotten wood is laid before him. Then he begins to recite his deeds. Taking up one stick, he says, "I went out with a war party from the Bighorn to Rosebud, and killed a whole family without getting shot. I hope all the people here will

<sup>1</sup>It is not certain whether the borrowing of lodge covers occurs on this or the following day.

<sup>2</sup>The women?

do something good." Then he lays down the stick, and the Builder calls for Medicine-crow (or some other noted brave). Medicine-crow dresses up in his best clothes and beadwork, paints himself stylishly, and enters the lodge. Medicine-crow's wife has placed a small pail of water about fifty yards outside the door. The Builder's wife stands at the door behind Medicine-crow, grasping the back of his shirt. The Builder shakes his rattle and sings, and the woman pushes Medicine-crow forward. This is repeated until, at the close of the fourth song, the woman again pushes Medicine-crow, who runs to his wife, dips a bucket into the pail, and runs back with it filled. The Builder cannot move back, but merely stands there with his wife. After returning, Medicine-crow gives the pail to the Builder, who presents him with an orange. Medicine-crow offers water to several chiefs. The Builder then announces in a loud voice that he desires everyone to keep still, because he wishes to speak. He speaks as follows:<sup>1</sup> "Your sacred Tobacco has grown well. Everything around where you have planted it has grown well, even the berries. You have gathered the Tobacco in good condition. This summer there is no sickness. This spring everything has grown well, and you have plenty of money." A pipe is brought in, and after it has been smoked with incense it is lit with manure and hot ashes. Then it is smoked. The singers begin to sing, so does the Tobacco-lighter, and the women take up the song. After this is completed, the musicians sing one of the candidate's songs. He rises, and dances to his four songs. His relatives bring in horses, blankets, and other property. Each of the four clubs receives a case of fruit as compensation for the services of its members, and they go off to have a feast. If any one of the relatives desires to give a horse to the 'father,' but has not brought it with him, he gives the adopter a stick as an earnest of the donation. After the boy has danced, the members of the society into which he is adopted begin to sing, commencing at one end of the line. The Builder selects for himself two pieces of red cloth from the property presented to the 'father.' At the close of the performance a special song is intoned. Every one takes a branch in his hands and moves it so that the leaves appear to dance. Then they raise the branches aloft. This is done four times, then this part of the ceremony is completed, and they leave the adoption lodge.

The 'father' says to the novice, "Go, bring me fourteen willows." When he has brought them, the Father constructs a sweatlodge and makes a pit in the ground. "Now, take a wagon and bring some stones from the hills." When the stones have been brought they are heated on a pile of wood that has been gathered together. The cover for the sweatlodge is brought. Then the 'father' says, "We will go out and bring in medicine-bags." They go to different camps for the bags. A certain man puts water on the stone. The four song-teachers sit in a row, with their medicines above them on the sweatlodge cover. Hot ashes are put into the pit, *isé* is smoked for incense, and the pipe is smoked with it. The people smoke four times. The Tobacco-lighter takes some tobacco, and sets down part of it on either side of the door, as well as in the back. He says, "I shall<sup>2</sup> not have sickness this year. I shall reach the next season." Then charcoal is placed with the Tobacco. Horsetracks are painted with charcoal on the hands of the four singers, who express a wish to obtain horses. A little water is sprinkled on the stones. Four songs are sung, then four cupfuls of water are poured on the stones. Then the inmates of the sweatlodge call out to have the cover raised. The first man says, "May we reach winter!" The others cry, "ahó!"<sup>3</sup> When

<sup>1</sup>It will appear later (p. 153) that he is merely heralding the report of the water-carrier.

<sup>2</sup>The future tense here, of course, merely expresses a prayer.

<sup>3</sup>Ceremonial expression of thanks.

the cover is lowered again, the second man sings four songs. Then seven cupfuls are poured on the stones. When the door is raised, the singer says, "May we reach the next spring without death or sickness!" Again, the rest cry, "ahó!" The door is lowered and the third singer sings four songs. Just as soon as he is done, ten cupfuls are poured on the stones. The door is opened, and the man prays, "May we reach the time when the berries are ripe!" Once more the cover is lowered, and the fourth man sings his songs, after which as many cupfuls are poured on the stones as they please. When the door is raised, *isé* is chewed and rubbed over the sweaters' bodies, then they pass outside. The medicine-bags are laid on a blanket, with their openings towards the mountains. Then the bags are taken to a large tent, where the members of the adopting society assemble. The novice is called in. Horses and other property are presented to the members. Then the bags are opened, and the boy picks out from each one whatever medicine he likes, passing from one to another. The owner of each bag gives the novice a song, then he is a full-fledged member.

In the following description by Medicine-crow, mingling his personal experiences with general statements, still greater emphasis is given to the sweatlodge ceremony.

The oldest man in the Otter society was Hunts-the-enemy. He had been adopted by Restless-old-man, who in turn adopted Medicine-crow. One day Hunts-the-enemy brought meat to my informant, and said, "Eat this, I desire to adopt you." Medicine-crow accepted the gift, thus expressing his willingness. When he was initiated, all the Tobacco chapters were present. For three successive nights they sang and prepared a feast in his honor. On the fourth night Hunts-the-enemy presented quilts and other property to four different members, each of whom then gave Medicine-crow one song that was to be his special property. Thus he acquired four songs. Then an adoption lodge was put up. Medicine-crow was first taken to a large preliminary tipi, where the Tobacco chapters met. In marching towards the adoption lodge, they walked in single file. At the first stop, a man was chosen to sing. They walked some distance, then another singer was chosen. After walking a little farther, they selected a third man to sing at the next halting-place. Each of the singers sang four songs. After a fourth man had sung, they entered the lodge. A woman stood outside with a big bucket of water. The owner of the lodge picked out a renowned warrior, who sang as though praying. After this man had sung four songs, the Owner sent him for the water. He returned with the water, and entered the lodge. The Owner put some fruit into his mouth, which the warrior did not touch. Then the warrior prayed that there should be no sickness in the camp and that no horses should die that year. As soon as his prayer was ended, all cried, "ahó!" Then the owner selected a man who had killed enemies as they were seated round a fire. Only such a man has the prerogative of building a little fire in the adoption lodge, but first he recounts his exploit: "At such a time I killed an enemy who had a fire. I brought home a scalp, and all my people rejoiced. This year I hope that all my people will be glad."

In the old days a kettle with tongues was placed over the fire, but nowadays oranges and canned goods are obtained from the store. When everything was ready, a herald announced, "Everything is over, and all the relatives may bring property!" Then Medicine-crow's relatives brought in property. Young men of martial distinction intruded red-striped sticks into the lodge, and those within impaled tongues



on the points. Thus people who had not known before discovered that the owners of the sticks had established a reputation as warriors. As Medicine-crow was a Lumpwood, the Lumpwood society gave away property in his behalf. The adoption lasted all day into the night. Each person present sang one or two songs, that is why the ceremony lasted so long. The property was divided among those present. When the time for eating had arrived, all held up some plant that was still green and sang the *hîra*<sup>1</sup> song usually terminating the Tobacco ritual: "What ground am I going to plant it in?" Then four pieces of red calico were picked out, and given to four members, who were requested to use it on the next day in building a sweatlodge. This calico is attached to a pole behind the sweatlodge and offered to the Sun.

On the next day the sweatlodge is built; the number of willows which may be used includes all the numbers containing four in the units' place, from 14 to 94, as well as 100. Stones are brought and heated. Before the stones are put in, the lodge is covered. The stones are passed in through the door, and ashes are sprinkled within. Only certain men have the right to manage the sweatlodge ceremonies. Before the stones are brought, coals are passed in, and the *isê* root, which bears fatten on in the summer, is smoked for incense. The people in the lodge smoke four times. No other kind of incense may be used. The Crow use this root as a kind of panacea. For a cold, it is chewed and swallowed. For sores it is chewed and rubbed on as a liniment. For a toothache it is placed on the tooth, for a headache it is kept in the mouth. The stones are then handed in, one after another. No one is permitted to speak. The rite is considered an offering to the Sun. When the fourth stone has been brought in, they cry, "ahô!" Each one then voices a prayer, such as, "I wish to have horses!" They undress. Water is handed in, and finally a cup is slid in along the ground to the man at the left of the door, who slides it on to the man in charge of the lodge. This headman then takes some water, and sprinkles it over the stones. The novice is inside. Everyone sings. The headman sprinkles four cupfuls. The people inside sweat. Then the door is lifted at the order of the headman, and one man prays as follows: "Sun, we are doing this for you! Let us live until the next winter." All the people, inside as well as outdoors, cry, "ahô! Let us live to that point!" The door cover is lowered. At this point Medicine-crow was washed with a mixture of *isê* and water by his adoptive 'grandfather,' who prayed as follows: "I want him to be an old man. All you above, let him live to be an old man." The sprinkler then poured seven cupfuls on the stones. Four songs were sung; then the door was raised again by request. Some one says: "You in heaven, you had us make these offerings! It is in your honor that we are making them!" The door is lowered, and the man next to the last sprinkler pours ten cupfuls on the stones, after the third man's song has been sung. When the door is raised again, prayers similar to those previously uttered are recited. When the lodge is closed once more, the fourth man pours 'uncounted' cupfuls on the rocks. Then the watchers outside are requested to remove the sacred Tobacco bags that have been placed on the top of the lodge. These bags are laid on quilts on the ground, and made to face the mountains. After the sweaters have been informed that the bags have been taken off, they scourge themselves, and each one recites a prayer. Then the manager cried, "Throw off the door! We want to live until the next winter!" "ahô!" The door is not lifted but thrown aside, and the sweaters go to the river, where any sickness that may be on them is washed away.

<sup>1</sup>This is said to be the way one woman friend calls another.

While Medicine-crow was in the sweatlodge, his wife had been preparing a feast. This was announced by a herald. Then the members of the adopting chapter said, "Let us take our medicines to his tipi and give him some." They went over there with their drums; these drums are owned by certain individuals. The medicine-bags were smoked with *isé* incense, then all the medicines were taken out. Medicine-crow had had a number of horses saved for this occasion; for each medicine he selected out of those exposed, he paid one horse. He also picked out one bag. Three songs were sung, and three times he pretended to put the medicines into his bag. This he finally did at the fourth song. This is how he became a member of the Otter chapter. Thenceforth the Otters treated him as one of their own family. At a later period he had a vision of strawberries (see p. 117) in accordance with which he modified the ritual and the chapter came to be called after the Strawberry.

### THE CANDIDATE'S PREPARATION.

Except for the time of initiation Arm-round-the-neck's experiences seem typical. Sits-on-the-bear offered him money, comforters and meat, thus inducing him to be adopted into the Weasel chapter. This happened in the spring, but the initiation did not take place until autumn. In the interim Arm-round-the-neck and his wife were taken to a Tobacco dance four times. On the first three evenings they received food and looked on while the dance was performed by the members. On the fourth night my informant was given two songs and his wife received two, according to the usual procedure. The song-givers were *Dék·ōc*, Coyote, Crooked-nose, and Long-ears. On this occasion the couple were at last allowed to dance in the following fashion. Arm-round-the-neck stood on the right side of the first song-giver and danced with him; then he danced similarly with the second song-giver, a different song being intoned each time. His wife, in corresponding manner, danced with the two other song-givers.

Child-in-the-mouth and Gray-bull were prepared in much the same fashion but during the winter, the initiation being consummated in the spring according to ancient usage.

Cuts-the-picketed-mule was not initiated together with her husband, though into the same chapters. During the preparatory period she was taken into a lodge, where the dance was held on four consecutive nights. She had to dance on the last night when she received the songs. She had brought in some buffalo robes, two bottles of whisky, and other gifts. She was pregnant at the time and was bashful, not knowing how to dance; she was trembling all over. The members all made fun of her.

Muskrat was adopted because her husband was already a member. For some time her adopters brought her such eatables as berries, then they announced, "We have done this long enough, we'll take her in to sing now." So they took her into the lodge on four consecutive winter nights and on the fourth they asked her to dance. Two women got up and danced with her.

#### THE PUBLIC INITIATION.

As explained in Plenty-hawk's account, an adoption implies a special adoption lodge (*actsitúa*). As might be expected, the institution of the lodge and the details of its arrangement are derived from visions. To own and superintend the erection of this lodge is a highly prized ceremonial privilege, the Owner and his wife playing an important part in the proceedings. Indeed, while there is no strictly hierarchical grading of officers in the society, Gray-bull held that the Owner of the adoption lodge ranked highest after the Medicine-bearer in the procession of the planting ceremony. Theoretically the Owner performs a variety of functions himself; in practice he frequently pays some one else to act as delegate, a different person for each task. Some chapters are without members owning the *actsitúa* privileges and are obliged to appeal to other chapters for help. Generally speaking, there is no spirit of exclusiveness between Tobacco members of different chapters. At an adoption members of any chapter may attend, though presents are given only to the initiating chapter.

On July 3, 1910 two initiations were celebrated, and I witnessed the major part of one and a lesser portion of the other. The two lodges erected for these adoptions were similar to each other and to those seen in the summer of 1911 (Fig. 5). The following notes refer mainly to my earlier observations.

The frame of each lodge consisted of ten large pine trunks,<sup>1</sup> joined at the top and tied there with a mass of leafy twigs. At a height of about three feet from the ground willow branches were laid horizontally from pole to pole and tied to the poles. The lodge was imperfectly covered with canvas, so that the sunlight could stream in from one side. The most conspicuous part of the unoccupied lodge was the *aráca*, which for want of a better term I will call the 'altar.' At its head the members afterwards deposited their bags and in one of the two lodges two slender sprigs of willow with leaves were planted there as well. The altar

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<sup>1</sup>Charges-strong said that cottonwoods should be used.



(Fig. 9) was an oblong space of cleared ground two and one-half by five feet. Each of the longer sides was bounded by a row of willow arches, and outside of each row there lay a parallel log of equal length. Within the cleared space there were four rows of juniper sprigs. A sacred oblong of this general type is used by various Plains tribes in their ceremonials, perhaps most frequently in the Sun dance (Arapaho, Cheyenne, Dakota).

According to Gray-bull the altar forms part of the original vision of the Tobacco dance. Plenty-hawk explained that it represents the Tobacco garden, the arches standing for its enclosure. Three cow chips on the altar serve for fuel when the Pipe-bearer lights his pipe and burns incense. Sometimes the entire oblong is strewn with juniper, but in 1911 the half farther from the medicines and willow sticks was bare. The juniper represents the Tobacco when green; it is not removed after the adoption, indeed the entire altar remains intact. Thus, the logs are held sacred and must not be used for firewood. Pretty-enemy said the oblong represented the Tobacco garden and the juniper the material anciently burned on it before planting.

Bear-gets-up stated that the altar was generally in the exact center of the lodge and the medicine bags were laid on the short west side of the oblong. He added, however, that the details in the arrangement depend on the Owner's dreams.

At 10 a.m. I found the adopting Weasel chapter already gathered in one of the tipis, which I will call the preparatory tipi. The drummers occupied one side, the women and spectators the remainder of the space. In the center two slender willow branches were stuck into the ground at some distance from each other. An elderly woman seated near the middle was painting the members. Some of the women had already been painted. There seemed to be two groups of women, distinguished by their paint, and later these groups danced at different times. One group had red paint on the entire lower part of the face including the upper lip. On each cheek was traced a blue design consisting of a stem with two pairs of branches symmetrically arranged, forming the beginning of a herringbone pattern. The second group were not painted in uniform fashion, in fact some lacked all such decoration. The rest had the lower half of the face painted red like the first group, but on each cheek some had slanting red lines suggesting fingerprints, while in one case two short vertical lines were observed. In the course of the hot summer day the paint was naturally obliterated by perspiration.



Fig. 4. Entrance into the Tobacco Adoption Lodge.



Fig. 5. Leader of the Procession leaving the Preparatory Lodge with her Pipe.





Fig. 6. Stop on Way to Adoption Lodge.



Fig. 7. Leader with Pipe heading Procession to Adoption Lodge; One of the Stops on the Way.



Fig. 8. Medicine-crow, at the End of the Procession to the Adoption Lodge, leading the Mounted Candidate, who is holding Aloft a Willowstick.



Fig. 9. Altar in the Adoption Lodge.

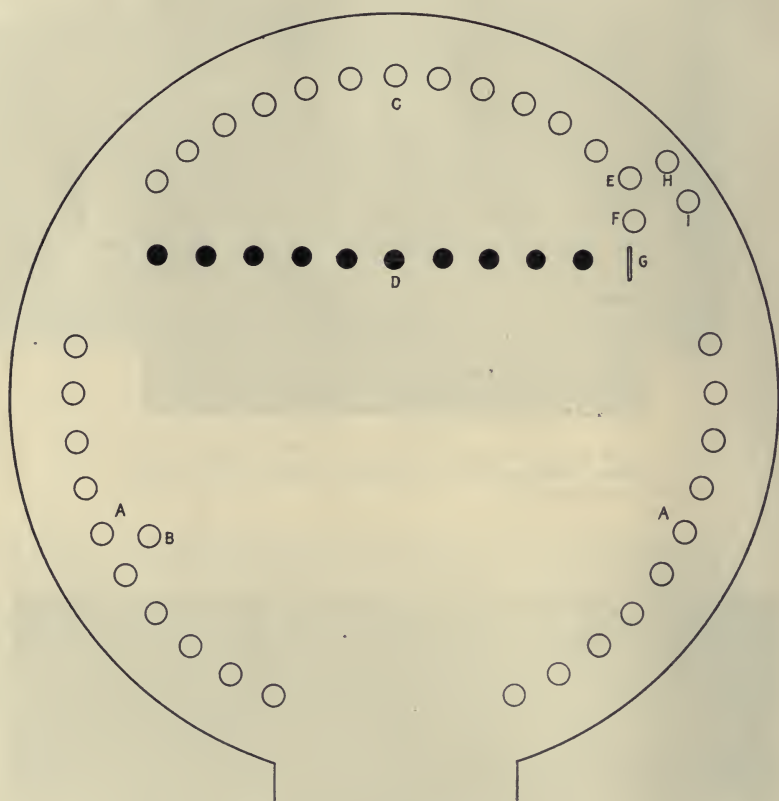


Fig. 10. Diagram of Preparatory Tent at Strawberry Adoption. *a*, women; *b*, painter; *c*, drummer; *d*, Tobacco bags; *e*, Medicine-crow; *f*, Old-dog; *g*, willowstick; *h*, third rattler; *i*, another man.

In July 1911 I attended a Strawberry adoption, at which Medicine-crow's wife decorated the women with four blue dots on each cheek arranged in a line slanting downwards and outwards from below the eyes. She painted herself with a single blue dot below the eyes and much larger than the dots on the other women. At a Wolverine initiation witnessed in the same year the women had a small semicircular area in dark red in the middle of the forehead, the diameter coinciding with the hair line. On each cheek a large quadrangular area was painted in the same color, slightly curved towards the nose and extending to the ears. The Painter decorated herself merely with a horizontal bluish line across each cheek.

Later I secured a number of comments on the painting employed. An informant from the Mission district said that usually only one woman paints the members, following a dream; the second group must have been decorated by a different woman. The branched design was said to represent the Tobacco and is accordingly called *i'tsi'tsia*; it is characteristic of one old woman, who always uses it. Gray-bull confirmed the interpretation of the blue Tobacco design and said that it had been seen in a vision by someone sleeping by the side of the Tobacco garden. The finger marks, he thought, represented another part of the plant. Oddly enough, he added that the group with the Tobacco design belonged to the Wolverine chapter, the second group to the Tobacco chapter. Bear-gets-up likewise interpreted the difference in paint as due to different chapter affiliations.

Since the painting depends on visions, it forms a ceremonial privilege and there are no fixed rules concerning the designs. The adopter does not himself paint the members and novices. The number of Painters depends on the number of those who have acquired the privilege in the respective chapters; some chapters have only one painter, and usually there are not more than two. Gray-bull said it depended wholly on the Painter whether she should use the same decoration on herself as on the other members.

Like other ceremonial privileges that of painting is transferable. A woman acting in this capacity on July 7th, 1911 had only recently purchased the office from an old woman. Gray-bull himself had once acquired the painting privilege from his own mother, paying her an ermine shirt, a horse, quilts, and money. He sold the right to Plenty-coups for four horses. He owned one style for men, another for women; the latter was put on by his wife. The men's faces were decorated all over with red trade paint; the forehead and face including the cheek



bones were daubed all over with red ground-paint; then black dots were scattered over the painted area down to the cheekbone. The women had their faces painted yellow all over, then a red line was drawn next to the hair line and the neck was painted yellow; on the crown of the head a yellow-painted eagle feather was fixed; and an ermine skin was tied to a lock of hair on the left side.

In the Strawberry chapter Old-dog and Medicine-crow had the painting prerogative; they would paint the men, and their wives the women. Medicine-crow had dreamt the designs himself and transferred the right to Old-dog without himself renouncing it. When there were many men present, each painted half of them. They would put red paint on the forehead and backwards over the hair and draw slanting lines down from the eyes with their fingers.

When the painting had been completed, a number of dances were held in the preparatory tipi. The men beat drums and the women rose repeatedly with unwrapped medicine objects, such as stuffed duckskins, and gently swayed their bodies without moving from the spot. After a number of these performances everyone rose and the woman who was to lead the procession from the preparatory to the adoption lodge took a position near the exit carrying a catlinite pipe (Fig. 4). She wore a crown of juniper leaves and a skin in the back of her head, while the other women wore a feather in the back of the head and a strip of weasel-skin in the front part of the hair. According to Medicine-crow the crown represents a wish for welfare, horses, etc., on behalf of everybody. The leader is the wife of the Owner; the pipe generally belongs to her husband and is not smoked subsequently but deposited on the altar.

In the Strawberry adoption of 1911 there were about twelve drummers in the rear of the preparatory tipi, while Medicine-crow, Old-dog, and another man shook rattles. The women, most of them wearing elk-tooth dresses, were arranged in two arcs of a circle, one on each side of the entrance. Somewhat to the rear of the center the Tobacco bag had been deposited in a row, with the willow stick at the extreme right of this line for one entering the lodge. The arrangement may be seen at a glance from the diagram (Fig. 10).

Before the tent was left, eagle feather fans previously kept in a bundle were distributed to all the women. The reason for having only one willowstick was that a single individual was being initiated. Each willow on such occasions has attached to it a kerchief and a small Tobacco bag. Medicine-crow explained that the object of the ceremonially prepared willowstick is to make the powers above see the candi-

date and protect him; it symbolizes safety until the season when the willow shall have green leaves again. The Tobacco bag is taken back by its owner after the ceremony. Gray-bull once remarked that the small bags used on the willowsticks contained Tobacco seeds on which the figure of a star—taken to be the morningstar—is visible. Such seeds are regarded as especially valuable, being as rare as the four-leafed clover.

To return to the adoption of July 3, 1910. When the Owner's wife had taken a position at the exit, the musicians drummed and sang a song, at the close of which she made one step forward, only to resume her former position. Two more songs were sung, and at the close of each she pretended to march out in similar fashion. At the end of the fourth song she really made her exit (Fig. 4), followed by the women in single file and then, at an interval of about six feet, by the drummers, all of whom are invariably men. There were about twenty-five women and fifteen men in the procession (Figs. 6, 7). No person was permitted to get in front of the leader. They stopped four times on the way to the adoption lodge and at each stop songs were sung. Each candidate carried a willowstick for which he paid a horse. After the fourth stop the line entered the lodge. In the Strawberry adoption of 1911 the novice, a girl of twelve named Bâtdæc (She-joins), rode horseback at the tail of the procession, her horse being led by Medicine-crow (Fig. 8). In the old days, Arm-round-the-neck stated, the novice always walked. At one of the performances seen the adoption was by proxy because the child to be initiated was at the Mission school.

The drummers need not be members of the adopting chapter but must belong to the Tobacco society. The best singers are chosen for the office and receive fees for their services. According to Plenty-hawk the privilege of drumming on such occasions must have been specially acquired. If all holders of this prerogative were to refuse to act their part, the ceremony could not be performed; on the other hand, the presence of a single duly qualified drummer would suffice. Several men had rattles instead of drums. Gray-bull declared that anciently all the musicians had only rattles but the young people introduced drums. The relative antiquity of rattles in this connection is generally accepted. According to Medicine-crow the drumming is meant to imitate thunder. Gray-bull said that the Wolverenes danced to a peculiar sort of devil's tattoo on the drum, but usually only the men did so.

Singing at the four stops is another ceremonial prerogative. Each time a different person sings, the drummers take up the song, and the people in the procession dance in position.

After entering, the drummers took seats on the west side of the lodge, ranging themselves in a small unclosed ellipse west of the altar; south of them sat the rattlers. The women of the two groups noted in the preparatory tent sat to the south and north, respectively, of the foot of the altar.

Owing to the novelty of the proceedings for me in 1910, some interesting happenings at this stage escaped my attention. However I recorded them in the following year and will supply the deficiency on the basis of my later observations, supplemented by notes secured from one of my most trustworthy informants.

Immediately after the entrance of the procession into the lodge, or very soon after, a brave warrior tells a coup and another is dispatched to bring water. The latter is called *ak'ícde*, 'the one who goes for drink.' Formerly he had to run to the creek for it, but nowadays at Lodge Grass a large vessel with water is placed near the lodge and the brave takes a small bucket with him, runs to the larger vessel, fills his container, and comes dashing back. According to Gray-bull, this episode represents a war party's coming back with water and symbolizes a victorious return.

On July 7, 1911 the following was the sequence of events. Medicine-crow got up and told the story of how seven Dakota had been seated by a fire in a canvas tipi, how a party of Crow had come down upon them and destroyed them, the narrator playing an active part. He broke some little sticks and threw them on the bare part of the altar to symbolize the fire. Then Packs-the-hat got ready to run for water; having struck two coups in his day, he was eligible for this office. He stood by the entrance, on some juniper leaves, which symbolized the wish to see the next year, when everything would be green and safe. Banks (the lodge owner), and Banks's wife stood behind Packs-the-hat and swayed him four times, the husband shaking a rattle and singing a song. The songs sung at this juncture rather resemble praise-songs<sup>1</sup> than Tobacco songs; the following is typical:—

dī	wasá'kám	bá wík';	kaná <sup>a</sup> kowe.
You	as my grandmother	I shall adopt;	go home.

Finally at the fourth time the couple pushed Packs-hat out of the lodge. He ran, filled his vessel, and returned running, whereupon he made a report to Banks in a very low tone of voice. This represents the report of a returning war party.

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<sup>1</sup>See Lowie, (a), 241.



Gray-bull, who had several times acted as water-bearer in the ceremony gave me the tenor of the runner's report in two slightly different, but substantially similar versions, which follow:—

## 1.

dúxira+um,	hére	barék.	mirəxbáke	kuc
They went on a war party,	among them	I went.	People	towards
basúm,	dapúm,	ictáxia	burutsík.	kam-bá'kúk.
they ran,	they killed,	a gun	I took.	Then I came back.
ópe	awúsarùəc	báwim	ahúm	matsátsk',
The Tobacco	you (pl. ) had planted	when I came	abundant	extremely,
áaxe	bátsua	ahúm	matsátsk'.	karakóm
round about	chokecherries	abundant	extremely.	Then
				I came.
acé	báwim,	mābāku'pé	hámnetk'.	ítsik-àta
The camp	when I reached,	sick people	there were none.	Well
ópe	dá'kurutúk'.			
the Tobacco	you took back.			

(Free translation: I accompanied a war party. We charged the enemy and killed some; I captured a gun. Then I returned. When I got to the Tobacco you had planted, it was growing in extreme abundance. Round about all berries were extremely abundant. Then I came home. When I reached the camp, there were no sick people there. Peacefully you were harvesting the Tobacco.)

## 2.

bátsua	óoce	ítsik-āta	bíuk	. báisànde <sup>1</sup>
Chokecherries	ripening	well	we shall arrive.	Sickness
hámnetk.	dúxiwarem,	, barapfok	, dāakce	wáritsík'.
there is none.	I went on a war party,	they killed some,	a coup	I struck.
barasé	ítsim,	kambók.	ópe	awúsaŋuəc
My heart	was good,	I arrived.	The Tobacco	you planted
				I saw.
ópe	ahúk.	ópe	awáke	wíawak.
The Tobacco	was plentiful.	Tobacco	I see	I wished.
				I came,
				Tobacco
apáre	watsátsk.	Apsároke	ítsik'āte	āra'kuk.
grew	excellently.	The Crow	well	are faring.
				Chokecherries
ítsik-āta	dirúsuk.			
well	you eat.			

<sup>1</sup>Or: ba 'kupé.



(Free translation: We shall live until summer when the berries are ripe. There will be no disease. I went on a war party, they killed some of the enemy and I struck a coup. Joyfully I came home. I saw the Tobacco you had planted; it was plentiful. I wished to see the Tobacco, it is growing excellently. The Crow are faring well; you shall eat berries safely.)

After the runner's report the Owner says to him, "It is done, go!" (*karak'ōwik', dā!*) Then he cries out aloud what the water-carrier has told him *sotta voce*, and the crowd shout *ahō!* The water is passed about and drunk by the singers and the old people in the lodge.

After entering the lodge the leader of the procession hands the pipe to her husband, the Owner. Any redstone pipe may be used for this purpose. It is filled with trade tobacco not the sacred Tobacco, which was not smoked as it was believed to produce a rash on the face. From one account it would appear that the Owner lights the pipe and hands it to all members present. Other notes suggest that the tobacco-lighter (*ak'-ōp-arāxia*) need not be identical with the Owner. At all events he is an important personage, as shown by the fact that in the Strawberry chapter Medicine-crow, the founder, acts in this capacity. It is the tobacco-lighter that sings the first song with his wife for the benefit of the musicians, who are expected to catch the tune at once; sometimes he will repeat it for them. Then they intone the song and all the members rise and dance to it. According to Lone-tree, the tobacco-lighter in a manner determines the subsequent procedure: if he sings three songs, all the later singers do likewise; if only two songs, the rest also follow suit. If he begins with an eagle song, the women dance with eagle feather fans; if he sings a weasel song first, they take weasel skins into their hands. The tobacco-lighter sits next to the door, and no one must pass in front of him; he is also entitled to get food before all others, taking precedence of the other singers, whose turn comes next.

Medicine-crow remarked that the Tobacco dance was the only time when the pipe might be smoked when passed backwards. Those who do not smoke offer a prayer. Old men sit behind the tobacco-lighter. The songs start from them and end with the singers seated in the middle. The tobacco-lighter then smokes the pipe with incense, lights it a second time, and hands it round again, beginning with the man in the middle facing the door. The last man to receive it passes it over his head and sends it to the men who are not acting as musicians. According to Medicine-crow, an outsider is not permitted to enter the adoption lodge unless the real owner of the pipe has delegated to him the office of taking charge of it.

The essential part of the proceedings following the initial song seems to consist in a joint dance by each novice with the four song instructors and the final song that regularly closes the adoption ceremony. However, there were a great many other dances by various members of the society.

To revert to my naïve observations in 1910. The women were by far the more frequent dancers. When the drummers had intoned a song, several women would rise, unwrap their medicine bundles, and begin to dance in the same way as in the preparatory tipi, holding in their hands such medicine objects as stuffed skins of weasels, otters, or birds. At one dance I saw two women holding a weaselskin in each hand. Some did not use such objects in dancing, but substituted sprigs of willow or eagle feather fans; still others were holding nothing at all. Some clenched their free hands, others extended their fingers with the palms down. In every case the hands, with or without skins, fans or sprigs, were alternately advanced and drawn back, or raised and lowered, in a peculiar convulsive manner. Sets of dancers took turns, each corresponding, it seemed, to a set of four songs.

Lone-tree explained that the manner of extending fingers or clenching hands depended on the song. He, as well as others, described the movement with clenched hands, thumb up and little finger down, as distinctive of the Tobacco dance proper; to hold the thumb and finger of the clenched hand in one horizontal plane is distinctive of the Bear Song dance, but this movement may be introduced into the Tobacco ceremony.

At noon preparations were made for a feast. The relatives of the boy who was being adopted piled up quilts and other presents for his adoptive mother, all these gifts being taken charge of by a young woman. At this time the members of the Nighthawk club were lined up in a body outside the lodge. The novice was a member of their organization, hence after the quilts had been heaped up each Nighthawk approached and contributed a quarter to help pay his Tobacco initiation fee. Since my interpreter, James Carpenter, was a Nighthawk, I likewise contributed this modest sum. In return we received a case of fruit, which was carried off to a Nighthawk tent, where the contents were distributed in the most equitable fashion conceivable.

Early in the afternoon I returned to the adoption lodge. Again the women were conspicuously more active in the dancing. However, when the male novice was to dance, two men took him between them and danced with him at the foot of the altar. At the first dance all three held up willow sprigs; the second time, feather fans; the third time, rattles; and the fourth time they merely moved their hands. The novice

resumed his seat and soon afterwards made his exit from the lodge. The girl novice was taken to dance in a similar way by practically all the women not decorated with the blue cheek design; one woman stood at her right, all the rest at her left.

Gray-bull said that the proper way was for each song-contributor to sing and dance with the novice, seating himself as soon as he has completed his song. The additional statement that three must always remain standing is not clear to me. Next the adopter is supposed to ask various adoptive relatives to dance with the initiate. For married novices the procedure evidently varies in the manner to be expected: when Gray-bull was adopted he danced with the *two* men, one at a time, who had taught him his songs, and his wife similarly danced with the two women who had instructed her. Probably there was considerable variation at this stage for Arm-round-the-neck speaks of "about five" Weasel men dancing with him for each of his two songs, while "more than five" women danced with his wife. After their four songs had been sung, he adds, he and his wife did not dance but merely remained as spectators.

To me the procession from the preparatory tent to the adoption lodge seemed the most solemn feature of the entire ceremony. During the subsequent dancing the performers and onlookers indulged, from time to time, in considerable jocularly. Occasionally a catlinite pipe was seen making the round among the musicians. The ceremony in the other adoption lodge terminated earlier than the Weasel initiation here described, possibly because of the smaller membership of the other chapter. The members of the latter entered the Weasel lodge and some even participated in the dancing.

At about four o'clock an old woman called out a song to the musicians. Then she and a middle-aged man knelt at the foot of the altar, each holding a rattle in one hand and a fan in the other. First they beat the ground with the rattles, at the same time shaking their fans. Later they lifted up the rattles and shook them in the air while maintaining the kneeling posture. Ralph Saco explained this series of movements as follows. The kneeling is in imitation of the people working in this posture in the Tobacco garden, striking the ground with the rattles refers to the Tobacco that has not yet sprouted, while raising the rattles symbolizes the growing of the Tobacco.

At about five o'clock an old woman, wearing a headband and holding a fan in one hand, stood up alone to dance to the drummers' final song. Towards the close the members present took little willow sprigs and



shook them, finally raising them aloft with a sudden movement to make the Tobacco grow, while the musicians correspondingly raised their drumsticks. Thus the ceremony ended, being followed by a distribution of eatables.

#### THE SWEATLODGE RITUAL AND THE SELECTION OF MEDICINES.

The details of the sweatlodge ritual have already been set forth in Medicine-crow's and Plenty-hawk's accounts. It merely remains to add the personal reminiscences of other informants. The performance may either directly follow the public initiation or be undergone on the following morning.

When Young-crane entered the Otter chapter, she went into the sweatlodge the morning following the public ceremony. With her went her husband Crazy-head and his second wife, also several other Otter members, including Hunts-the-enemy, the son of the chapter's founder; altogether about eight people. The sweatlodge was of somewhat greater than ordinary size. It was covered with buffalo skins, and bags filled with Tobacco were laid on top. Those inside were undressed. The owner of the sweatlodge, Buffalo-carcass, sang first, another man having previously poured four cupfuls of water on the rocks. "We just lay and sweated for a time, then the door was raised. Anyone in the lodge would tell his dream, and all the rest wished it might come true." The other singers were Medicine-crow, Charges-strong, and Ictoxac, each singing after a lifting of the cover. The second time water was poured on five times; at the third pouring, seven times, at the fourth, ten times.<sup>1</sup> After the fourth song all the inmates sang; before that they had merely listened to the four singers. At the close of the performance the door-raiser spread a sort of carpet by the side of the sweatlodge and laid all the Tobacco bags on it that had been deposited on the top of the sweatlodge. These bags belonged to members of the society. Then all came out, took a bath, and went home.

The following morning the novices, i.e., Crazy-head and his two wives, were to receive medicines. Men and women assembled in a tent, in the rear of which the medicines had been placed. Hunts-the-enemy held the ownership of the adoption lodge; in acknowledgment of the horses and presents offered by the initiates he surrendered the preroga-

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<sup>1</sup>This does not conform to the usual practice; see p. 141.



tive to Crazy-head's other wife. Thereafter, if anyone required an adoption lodge, he would apply to both of Crazy-head's wives. Having paid for their initiation with the aid of their relatives, the two women were entitled to choose medicines for themselves. However, Young-crane felt that she knew nothing about the matter and accordingly had Wolf select for her. Thus she obtained an otterskin sold to the writer in 1910, a medicine blanket, a *baxôseimbāpe* (plant growing by the water, with cigar-like top), an otterskin belt, and some buckskin bags with Tobacco seed. She subsequently used the otterskin in the Tobacco dance, holding it by the neck while dancing. The Tobacco bags secured on this occasion were of the large variety.

At this point may be offered a few words on the Tobacco seed containers. They belong to two quite different categories as to size,—small pouches directly enclosing the seed and the large bags borne on the back in the Tobacco processions. The little pouches are frequently tied together in pairs (Fig. 2) and generally remain undecorated except that those containing the last harvest's seeds are painted red on the outside. I bought one small pouch of aberrant type (50.1-3985), bottle-shaped and decorated all over with rather large beads of white, black, and red color.

The large bags, though varying in size, are all of the same order of magnitude and are all supplied with carrying straps. They differ in material, rawhide being used as well as tanned buckskin, elk and buffalo skin. Further, some are plain, others decorated with a fringe, appendages, or painted designs. A few characteristic specimens will be described. Fig. 11d (50.1-3870) shows an elk (?) rawhide bag decorated on both sides with a fringe terminating in dewclaws. The side exposed in the procession is ornamented with parallel vertical stripes in dark color alternating with rows of small circles. These designs were interpreted to represent the Tobacco garden, the circles being seeds, the bars the spaces between seed-rows. From the side nearer the carrier's body there projects a small triangular flap. Along its edge there is marked a triangle bisected by a perpendicular stripe, and each of the resulting compartments encloses two small circles. In Fig. 11b (50.1-3984) is shown a bag of buffalo calfskin dressed with the hair. It is fringed on the sides, and the surface visible during the procession is decorated with nine small discs in beadwork,—the four corner ones being white with a blue periphery, the remainder blue with a white periphery. Another specimen (Fig. 11c, 50.1-3905) is fringed at the sides and has for ornamentation four bands of beadwork, each composed of four rows of beads; these are of white, red, black, and pink color. In Fig. 11a (50.1-3945) is illustrated a relatively small bag with six rows of varicolored beads and a central shell; a slender stick sold with this specimen was said to be placed inside the bottom to keep it straight. Another specimen (50.1-7441) not illustrated here has a similar stick inserted into a sheath open at both ends that is sewed to the top of the bag. This piece is laterally fringed like some of the others but differs in presenting two new features. Suspended from the shoulder-strap there is a small perforated stone amulet, said to resemble the charms put round a horse's neck. Secondly, there is a decoration in triplicate on the side that would not be visible to spectators of the procession. The design, which is in red, consists of a stem with three pairs of branches terminating in small circles,—the whole doubtless representing the Tobacco plant. This bag was said to be very old, having been used two generations prior to Gray-bull's.

Child-in-the-mouth also entered the sudatory on the morning following adoption. Two men with Tobacco medicine sat on either side of him. They took some sagebrush and rubbed it over his body, from the head downward, which was called 'washing him off.' The sweating ritual otherwise seems to have conformed to type. After the close of ceremonies the sacks laid on the lodge were taken off by each owner, and all went home. They proceeded to a dance lodge and the members who had received horses given as Child-in-the-mouth's initiation fee presented him with Tobacco and bags for it.

According to Gray-bull, the four song instructors sweat with the novice, and the Owner of the adoption lodge puts up a second sweatlodge and joins the other members of the chapter.<sup>1</sup> He said that in the adoption of Jim Carpenter in 1911 the sweatlodge ritual took place on the evening of the day of the public initiation. The object of the ritual is to promote the novice's welfare. In the selection of medicines Gray-bull himself took some from the four song instructors, but otherwise Bell-rock and White-stripe-across-the-face chose for him. He got a black wolf, some red feathers, a whip, and two eagle tails. His wife also got medicines; from the wife of one of the song instructors she took a piece of shell tied to an elk-tooth dress. The woman who gave her this had shells for her *bâtsirâpe*; shells had at one time entered her body and on certain occasions she was able to make them come out of her mouth.

Cuts-the-picketed-mule was taken to sweat on the morning after the public initiation. Four sweatlodges were erected, but she did not describe their uses. In the evening there was a great Tobacco dance and she was ordered to prepare plenty of food and gifts. The members of the Eagle chapter sat on one side, those of the Yellow Tobacco chapter on the other. My informant was requested to pick out what objects she wished. Beginning with the Yellow Tobacco chapter, she selected a yellow robe and dress, a yellow lizard, an otterskin headband, an eagle plume for the forehead, yellow bracelets, earriags with abalone shell, a yellow muffler and a Tobacco sack, for which alone she paid a horse. She took four packages of Tobacco. Starting on the Bird side, she chose a red dress and a breastpin with an elk tooth and abalone shell, two eagle wings, a big Tobacco bag, a breast ornament, and a bracelet of sacred beads and shells for which last-mentioned object she paid a colt. She paid individually for all these medicines, giving, e.g., a horse

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<sup>1</sup>It is not clear to me whether this means that the Owner joins the novice and his instructors, merely putting up a separate sudatory as a matter of form; or, as seems more likely, sweats in the special sudatory with some of the rest of the chapter.



Fig. 11 a (50.1-3905), b (50.1-3984), c (50.1-3906), d (50.1-3870). Large Tobacco Bags.



for the Tobacco bag and another, as well as otterskins, etc., for the breast ornament. For a horse she bought the privilege of sitting next to the door, which involved always getting the food left undistributed; when there was plenty of eatables, there would be a good deal of this. When any song was sung, she had the privilege of taking it up when nearly ended and carrying it on alone for several measures.

When Old-dog was adopted into the Strawberry chapter by Bear-wolf, he and his relatives paid fifty horses, of which Bear-wolf gave one to each of the four song instructors, whom he had selected. The medicines received were paid for each with one horse; Bear-wolf distributed the horses among different members of the chapter, and in return Old-dog received medicines from them. He took Tobacco, weasel skins, and artificial strawberries prepared by Medicine-crow; the Tobacco was in bags and ready to be planted. From Bear-wolf himself my informant obtained little brass bells fastened together and trimmed with little feathers. The bells represent the stars.

### THE PLANTING.

While I was never fortunate enough to be on the Reservation at the time of a Tobacco planting, I secured a number of independent descriptions by trustworthy natives. Briefer accounts have been published by Simms and Curtis.<sup>1</sup> In the interests of clearness I will subdivide my account into sections dealing with the principal activities of the Mixers, the Procession to the Site, Performances at the Garden, Inspection and Harvest.

### THE MIXERS.

According to Pretty-tail, if any member (presumably meaning any Mixer) has had a dream during the winter concerning the Tobacco planting, he prepares a feast in the beginning of spring and invites all the Mixers, men and women, for a discussion of the subject. After they have eaten, the host inquires of each guest whether he or she has dreamt about the Tobacco planting. Then any one who has done so tells about it. Some will say that they saw the Tobacco growing to such or such a height, that they saw the leaves but not the site of the garden. Others have seen the Tobacco just coming out of the ground or have seen the crop maturing, or have merely caught a glimpse of the enclosure and of the ploughed ground. Still others have seen the ground ready for

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<sup>1</sup>Simms, 330-335; Curtis, vol. 4, 61-67.



ploughing and know the very spot. After each one has replied, the host tells of his own dream. At times four or five men have seen the identical site, which is then chosen for the place of the ceremony.

Lone-tree says that at this gathering any member of the society may attend and that a dance is held. If no one present has dreamt of a definite site, the Mixers determine the locality. This happened at Lodge-Grass in 1911 (Old-dog).

In 1914 Muskrat said she had dreamt of a site nearby, but the people wanted to plant on the Little Bighorn near One-star's encampment. A messenger was dispatched to her in order to gain her consent through a promise of money and food, but she refused. At last they offered her a pipe and after smoking it she agreed to be the leader. Thus she reluctantly yielded. They wanted her to ride on a horse but though she was crippled and used crutches she walked over to the preferred site. She looked it over but did not like it. Accordingly, while planting there to accommodate the other people, she did most of her personal Tobacco planting nearby to satisfy herself.

Between the time of this gathering and the planting ceremony the members gather all fresh bones, pound them up and get together as much lard as possible. The Mixers generally supply meat for hash, to be paid later to non-members who assist in the construction of the garden enclosure and similar tasks.

The proper season for the mixing is in May, "when the chokecherries are ready" (blossoming). Later in the spring the man who invited the Mixers for a discussion of their dreams announces, "I am going to move near the site." He moves and the other people follow, the whole tribe camping near the site. The Mixers prepare pemmican and on the same day all of them mix Tobacco seed, each in a separate tipi. The most circumstantial account was given by Pretty-tail. As stated elsewhere the details of the mixing vary slightly. In former times they gathered elk, deer, or buffalo dung to mix with the Tobacco, also different kinds of flowers, roots, and wild onions, according to their dreams. Now cow dung and eight different roots and flowers are used. The Tobacco seeds are mixed in a wooden bowl with a red ring painted on the inside. Formerly a dipper of buffalo horn was used, at present one of cow horn is substituted. Pretty-tail shakes his rattle and begins to sing while his wife, Strikes-in-the-house, sits by him. At the close of each song she makes a motion above a bucket of water as if about to dip in her ladle until after the fourth song she actually dips the horn into the vessel and pours water into the bowl up to the red ring, when she lays

down her spoon. There are several miniature bags with Tobacco seeds which she opens. Her husband sings four songs. At the fourth she empties the entire contents of one bag into the bowl, next she adds other ingredients of the mixture, and when these are well soaked the cow dung is put in. By this time peeled cow paunches representing buffalo manifolds of old days have been prepared and the contents of the bowl are emptied into one paunch. A big pipe with cloth over the mouthpiece is taken and the smoke from it is blown into the paunch, which in order to retain the smoke is quickly tied with sinew looped at one end. A stick of cherry wood, hooked at one end and sharpened at the other, is painted red, then the filled paunch is tied to the hooked part. Other paunches are treated in the same way. Then they go to a big tipi, and the sharp ends of the sticks are driven into the ground.<sup>1</sup> A rope is stretched between two poles of the lodge and to this rope they tie the cherry sticks. These labors consume the entire day. In the evening they begin to dance in the Mixer's lodge and continue all night, then they go home.

In this way each member in every chapter turns over his Tobacco seeds to the Mixer, who receives a fee for mixing them. Lone-tree said that generally there was only one Mixer couple in a chapter. In 1911 the Strawberries and Ducks had a joint mixing ceremony.

Everything considered, the Mixers are probably the most important officers of the society, which derives its name *bacúsua*, from the soaking of the Tobacco seed.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE PROCESSION.

On the following day the members, sometimes accompanied by the entire camp, set out towards the garden site. Before starting the members of each chapter assemble in a separate lodge, where they are painted by the Mixer. They are dressed in their best clothes, sometimes wearing medicine blankets. The women carry blankets in their arms and large Tobacco bags on their backs. As soon as these are secured, everyone rises in the preparatory lodge, and the musicians intone a certain song. By this time a woman known as the *akbasāande* (=the one who goes first), who carries a medicine, has taken up a position far in advance, the distance between her and the remainder of the society being estimated at from fifty to three hundred yards. It is her chapter that takes precedence in the formation of the procession. The native term desig-

<sup>1</sup>It is not certain that this occurs in the tipi.

<sup>2</sup>*cuik*, he washes, is a related stem.

nating her office would be most naturally translated 'leader' but in order to distinguish her from the woman who actually leads the chapter out of the preparatory lodge I will call her the Medicine-bearer. Many regard this as the greatest office in the society. As in the case of the Mixer privilege, it seems to be actually held by a married couple, but the wife generally takes the lead in the march and carries the sacred object. Naturally each district of the Reservation requires a distinct Medicine-bearer, and in regard to the sacred objects carried some differentiation has developed. The ancient leading medicine was an otterskin, which was associated with certain other sacred emblems.<sup>1</sup> Thus, at Pryor the husband of the otter-bearer showed me the elkskin headband with feathers in the back which he wears in the procession and the eagle feather fan he carries on this occasion. Among the Lodge Grass Indians One-blue-bead distinguished three officers connected with the otter medicine,—the otter-bearer, an old man of the Otter chapter wearing a crown of white feathers, and another old man carrying a Tobacco sack with meadowlarks and having his head likewise decorated with these birds; these three medicines, otter, crown, and meadowlarks, were regarded by my informant as forming a single medicine.

Medicine-crow thus accounted for the substitution of a crane for the otter medicine among the Lodge Grass people. One of his particular friends had been killed by the Dakota and Medicine-crow went round the prairie mourning and fasting near the camp in quest of a vision. On the third day he was very thirsty, lay down on his stomach and fell asleep. His father had had a vision of a crane, and Medicine-crow then also saw a crane. "It walked up to me, wearing about its neck a scalp with blood trickling from it. I looked round and saw the cherries were ripe. I woke up and began to think I should kill a Dakota when the cherries should be ripe. I went out and killed a Dakota at the time indicated in my sleep." The crane, according to this informant, is supposed to be the cleverest of animals. There are only two men at Lodge Grass (1910) who had it for their medicine. Medicine-crow bought crane power from another man so as to make his own still greater and it has been used in recent times to take the lead. Gray-bull said the crane had superseded the otter in Lodge Grass about 1895. Before that the otter had been used by the Crow as far back as he could remember. Medicine-crow's wife had acted as crane-bearer until Bright-wing's wife bought the privilege from her for two horses.

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<sup>1</sup>Curtis (IV, 66) says the skin is that of either an otter or beaver because both were water animals with power to bring rain on the crop.



Shot-in-the-hand (1911) said that in the Bighorn district the otter had been formerly carried by the Medicine-bearer, but that in recent times after the death of a certain woman owning this medicine another person had been chosen to carry a pipe instead. He added that a male Mixer who had dreamt of the site had twice been Medicine-bearer in his district.

After the musicians in the preparatory lodge of the Medicine-bearer's chapter have sung the fourth song the Leader, who according to Pretty-tail is the Owner of an adoption lodge, must walk round the inside of the lodge before conducting the chapter outdoors. First come the other women, all of whom form a line standing abreast of one another, next come the men of this chapter with their drums and stand to the right of the women, the women of the next chapter take positions to the right of the Medicine-bearer's men, and so on, until all the members of the society have formed a *horizontal* line. Another statement makes all the women stand together, though segregated by chapters, and all the men, similarly subdivided, to the right of them.

I will follow Pretty-tail's account. The procession starts. They walk a short distance towards the site of the garden, then they halt. Everyone sits down, the women laying their medicine bags before them, and the men sitting behind the women in a long row. Pretty-tail, the Medicine-bearer's husband, takes a pipe, fills it with tobacco and offers it to each man in turn, but everyone declines to take it.<sup>1</sup> This occupies about half an hour. At last one man accepts the pipe, smokes it, and passes it to the rest. The women put on their bags and the men pick up their drums. The smoker and his wife stand up in front of the women, facing the Leader. Pretty-tail approaches the Leader and informs her that the smoker has smoked and is ready to sing. The man sings his song in a low voice to teach it to the musicians, who then sing it aloud and beat their drums, while the women dance. After four songs the procession resumes its march. After a while the Medicine-bearer halts and a similar procedure is followed. This is repeated at a third stop. At the fourth station they are about a hundred (others say three hundred) yards from the site, while Strikes-in-the-house, the Medicine-bearer, is within fifty feet of the ground. She must never look backwards but calls to a member adopted by her to remove the medicine from her back. All the other members get some fast runner to take their medicines. After the singing of four songs these runners begin to race to the site. When they arrive,

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<sup>1</sup>Simms (332) explains that to smoke is equivalent to the sacrifice of the smoker's life so that the Tobacco may grow and that some great misfortune would befall him if the crop failed.



they deposit the bags on a blanket and cover them with another blanket. Whoever gets to the ground first will enjoy good luck that season; in the old times it was believed that he was fairly certain of striking the first coup of the season.

Other informants furnished supplementary data. It is clear that no one is permitted to walk in front of the Medicine-bearer. One-blue-bead says there are watchers to see that this rule is not broken and Gray-bull has a military society following the procession on horseback with long sticks or dead snakes tied to sticks and preventing non-members from approaching the society. At the first stop One-blue-beads represents the Bearer placing the otter between the forks of a stick, which is planted into the ground about forty yards ahead of the Bearer's own position, to which he (she?) must walk backwards. The same performance is repeated at subsequent stops. The winner of the race will have a good crop of Tobacco, that is why all try hard to get to the garden first.

According to Gray-bull the Medicine-bearer after planting the stick with her otter into the ground at the first halting-place sings a song, which the musicians take up, while all the other members dance. The Bearer also dances in her place. At the second stop she takes a pipe to all the Mixers, one of whom smokes and then gives the pipe to the other members of his chapter. When they have finished it the Medicine-bearer comes to take it back, and the Mixer tells her his dreams,—what he has seen of the next season or that he has beheld plenty of Tobacco. This Mixer sings four songs there. At the third stop the Medicine-bearer again brings a pipe but hands it to another Mixer. A similar ceremony ensues. At the fourth stop the Bearer gives the pipe to still another Mixer. She usually encounters difficulty in trying to make one smoke, for they are afraid to sing to the ground where they are to plant. Just before the last Mixer's fourth song the members of all the chapters give their bags to swift young runners. Now the police no longer restrain the spectators. The Medicine-bearer paints a horse red on the sides of his body and lets some prominent man ride. At the close of the fourth song the horseman and the young racers run to the site. The one who gets there first says, "*hă he!*", as though he were striking an enemy. The Mixers had put up their sticks previously on the site and instructed their runners which ones to run to. Sometimes a foot-racer would take the stick out of the ground, saying, "I have taken a gun from the enemy."

There is a certain inconsistency in the accounts as to the identity of the person making the Mixers smoke. This is rather apparent than real, however, for throughout the Tobacco ceremony the unity of a married

couple seems to be strongly insisted upon. Thus, it would make little difference whether the Medicine-bearer herself or her husband performed certain ritualistic actions.

#### AT THE GARDEN.

After the race the rest of the society came up to the site, where the Mixers spread a blanket on one side of the garden and put all the medicines on it. Then anciently members as well as outsiders got axes, hoes, and other implements to remove all the grass from the ground, making it bare and smooth. Some men and women went off to fetch dry grass and small dry twigs, which were spread over the site. Next a man having the eagle for his medicine (even though he might not be a member) was chosen to sing to the ground. He sang four songs, at the close of which the people set fire to the dry grass. The singer held two feather fans in his hands and fanned the fire. When the grass had been consumed, the people took leafy branches and brushed the site with them. The Mixers gave pemmican to all who had helped. Nowadays the ground is not burnt over but merely undergoes a preparatory ploughing.

Outside the site the people begin to cook and have a feast, after which a rake is used to remove the sods, which are laid at the edge of the ploughed surface as a kind of enclosure. Two sticks are planted on opposite sides of the garden, and a rope is stretched across to join them, marking the space to be allotted to each person. Every Mixer counts the number of members under his supervision and counts a corresponding number of rows. A stick is planted in the ground for his group's property mark. In this way all the land is divided up. According to Arm-round-the-neck, husband and wife get distinct allotments of space but Gray-bull says each couple had but a single row for their seed, but on another occasion said he and his wife had had three rows altogether.

According to-Old dog there are no fixed relative positions for the several chapters, but if some dream of planting in a certain corner they think they will have better results with their crop by utilizing the spot dreamt.

As to the planting there is some discrepancy between Gray-bull's and Pretty-tail's narratives. After the division of the ground Gray-bull has each Mixer select a renowned warrior, who is made to stand before him on the garden site. The Mixer holds this man by the back and sings four songs, pushing him a little at the close of each. The fourth time the warrior runs across the site in a line parallel to the short sides of the

oblong and returns to the Mixer. In a low voice he reports that he had gone out on a war party, struck a coup against the enemy and on his return trip got to the garden site; that he saw plenty of Tobacco and berries, and buffalo near by. The Mixer tells this aloud and every one then utters the wish that the people may eat cherries, have plenty of Tobacco, etc. Some of the young men would wish for coups. The Mixer then takes a sharp stick, holds its point towards the ground, sings four songs, and at the close of each feigns punching a hole until at the fourth song he actually makes a hole two inches deep. Then the seed is put into the holes by the members. When one chapter is done planting, the men all sing songs, one after another, and the musicians take them up. Then all the male and female members dance on the site, standing on one side and facing the garden. After this dance they eat.

Pretty-tail does not assign the same part to the Mixers and is more explicit as to the actual planting. After the assignment of space within the garden the women stand just inside the site facing away from it, with digging-sticks in one hand and the Tobacco seed in the other. The men sit facing the women. The women dance, pointing their sticks at the ground. After the singing of four songs each woman punches a hole in the ground, then each walks backward along the space allotted to her. The husbands follow in their wake, walking forward and dropping the seeds into the holes. When their labors are done, the women line up across the far end of the garden. The women retrace their steps to the rear end. Each Mixer is seated opposite his own plot and group of members, and sings four songs, to which the women dance. Then the ordinary members go home, while the Mixers and their wives remain to make more medicine. They sing and shake rattles, finally they too go home. On the same night they must have a dance.

There is a further difference as to the events after the planting ceremonial. Pretty-tail leaps at once to the erection of an adoption lodge on the morning following the happenings described in the preceding paragraph, while Gray-bull describes a sweatlodge ritual following immediately the plantation dance and feast. Four sweatlodges are constructed, according to him, by the Mixers who sang at the four stops of the procession. The medicines are laid on the sweatlodges and only members of the society enter, all those of one chapter going in together. In the sudatory it was not the Mixer who had sung at the halting places but some other members that sang at each opening of the lodge and dreams were told in the fashion typical of the sudatory ritual.



After this, according to Gray-bull, the female members used to chop long cottonwood trees, while the young men dressed in finery, mounted horses, rode double with the girls and dragged the trees with ropes to the site of the lodge. First three or four poles were tied together with willows and set up, then the other poles were put into place. Two tipi covers were used for this lodge. The military societies painted and dressed up and danced in this lodge, then they received food from the women of the Tobacco organization. On the following day the members all entered the lodge and the Owner stood up with a brave warrior before him, on some juniper twigs, holding him by the back and singing. After the fourth song the Owner pushed the warrior, who held a bucket and ran to the river with it as fast as possible, dipped up water, and returned. When he got back to the lodge, the Owner's wife put a big piece of pemmican into his mouth, which he ate, whereupon he uttered a wish and reported to the Owner in the fashion noted above, i.e., he told of going on a war party, killing and striking an enemy, and seeing a plentiful crop of Tobacco and cherries on his return, with buffalo near by. Since he ran fast, there was usually not much water left in the bucket, and that was given to the old people to drink. Then the people sang and danced. In the middle of the big lodge a fire was built and tongues were boiled by the Owner's wife. Warriors of distinction would stick into the lodge long poles with scalps or a wolf tail at the end. The women would first see who did this, then take out a tongue with a stick decorated at the handle with a scalp, and hand it to the brave, who would take it out and give it to his sweetheart. Sometimes young boys would come to steal it from him or his girl and run off with their prey.

Pretty-tail describes the lodge as quite similar to the one now put up at an adoption, with a central oblong cleared of grass and spread with juniper leaves made into an altar. The Tobacco bundles are put down in a row on the west side of the altar, while the weasel, otter and other skins are laid along the long sides of the altar. The faces of the members are painted according to dream revelations. They dance until evening. Finally a certain song is intoned to which no one dances, but all rise, put the Tobacco bags on their backs and take other medicines into their arms. At the fourth song they all run home.

To revert to Gray-bull's account. On the day after the adoption lodge ceremonial the people moved a short distance and the Mixers again built sweatlodges for the members. This was repeated with short journeys every day until the fourth time. In the old days people



were adopted at this season, when the adoption lodge was erected after the planting, but now they adopt at any time.

A matter of some importance omitted in the preceding reports but repeatedly referred to by natives is the lying at the garden after the planting in order to get a vision. Tobacco songs, more particularly, originate in this fashion. The following is Gray-bull's experience:—

I once lay at the garden for three days and nights. I slept. In the morning I got into water up to my breasts, faced upstream and downstream and stayed all day until sunset. My body felt as though pricked. All my body was wrinkled up when I got out. I got out quickly and lay down in the shade. All my body felt as if pricked with needles. I lay down again by the garden and saw a man singing this song and going through different movements, and I now (1911) dance with it.

bī	ópak.	baxíia	k'ótá	ópak.
I am	Tobacco.	My body	all over	is Tobacco.

At the first sentence the singer gently moved his hand forward, which was clenched, but not tightly, at the second sentence he touched his body. After I got home I found my Tobacco growing very well and thought the song had something to do with it. The people asked whether I had seen anything and I told them of my vision. Then all said, "Thanks! We shall surely have a good crop."

Muskrat said that in 1914 a vision was sought at the garden by Flat-dog and the wife of Not-mixed because they were in mourning. They fasted while the rest were going through the ceremony and entered the garden when the others had gone away. Flat-dog had a vision to the effect that he was going to have a fine Tobacco crop. My interpreter explained, as is obvious from other accounts, that mourning is not a necessary condition for seeking a revelation at the garden.<sup>1</sup>

Though never present at a planting ceremony I repeatedly inspected and photographed Tobacco gardens and append the following description of the one seen at Lodge Grass on June 25, 1910, with explanatory comments subsequently secured. All those seen later and elsewhere (Fig. 12) conformed rather closely to this type.

It was situated at the foot of a hill and consisted of two enclosures, the smaller one (which was less extensive even than the area allotted to a single chapter in the larger garden) serving for the planting of seeds left over after the main garden had been planted. This main garden was an oblong about six yards in width and approximately sixty yards in length. It was divided into half a dozen small plots belonging to the several chapters. The boundary lines of adjoining plots were in one or two cases indicated by parallel rows of little willow wickets

<sup>1</sup>Curtis (IV, 67) says the fasters were young men who had had no success in warfare, but the motives were obviously more varied than his account would indicate.

extending across the width of the garden, and separated by an empty space about two feet wide. In one place there was but a single row of wickets. In another case a cherry stick protruding four feet above the ground had been planted in the center of the very narrow area separating two plots; from the cherry stick there were suspended rags of cloth. The fence enclosing the whole garden was very crude, branches and tree trunks being thrown together with great irregularity.

Each plot within the garden was again subdivided, each couple belonging to a chapter being entitled to plant seeds in two rows. These rows were in a number of instances marked by little stones extending



Fig. 12. Tobacco Garden with Cherry Sticks and Two Miniature Sweatlodges; Behind them Part of the Enclosure is seen.

across the width of the field. Each couple also had one cherry-wood digging-stick (Figs. 1, 12), which was set in the ground near the beginning or end of the appropriate row and served as a property mark, each stick differing from all others in some respect. Thus, of those seen, one was longer than the rest, another had a crooked handle at the top, still another had a little willow branch tied round it near the top. While nearly all the sticks were painted red, one was not painted at all and had all its bark peeled off. The peeling of the bark was distinctive of several specimens noted: one had the bark left at the top, another had it extending halfway down. Several sticks had tied to them canvas seed-bags; to others there were attached wreaths of sluegrass or juniper leaves, such as women wear during the Tobacco ceremony. Gray-bull derived the use of these from personal visions. He thought they helped

the growth of the Tobacco in addition to serving as property marks. The ways of separating plots were also due to specific visions in his opinion. Most of the cherry sticks were planted on the east side of the oblong, though in some cases they were set on both sides.

In the plot of the fourth chapter, outside the line of the cherry sticks and quite close to the enclosure, there was a miniature sweatlodge frame formed of two willow arches crossed by five others at right angles. Its diameter was from eighteen to twenty-one inches; its height about



Fig. 13. Miniature Sweatlodge in Tobacco Garden.

eight or nine inches. Remnants of a fire were visible and my interpreter informed me that pine leaves had been smudged there. A second miniature lodge was found on the opposite side. (Figs. 12, 13).

A short distance from the garden there was a large sweatlodge of the ordinary type.

With regard to the little sudatories in the garden Plenty-hawk said they were put up for lack of time to put up large ones. The small ones, he added, are more powerful than the big ones and represent a prayer for a good Tobacco crop. Medicine-crow said that these miniature sweatlodges are made as sweatlodges for the Tobacco; *isé* incense is



burned there. Each chapter is supposed to erect one of the miniature sudatories. This was confirmed by Old-dog, who said the small sweat-lodges were made as a sweatbath for the Tobacco to make it grow. This informant explained differences I had noted in the several small sudatories as due to different visions; in this manner one might have two arches crossing five, another merely one crossing another, etc.

Simms's account of the events following the planting is more specific as to the ritual of the miniature sudatory:—

When the planting has been finished a large sweat-lodge of bent boughs is erected, sufficiently large to accommodate ten or twelve men. This number enter the lodge and repeat, four times, the following song:

“ Say, man, we are going to make a sweat-house.”

The men remain in the lodge for about twenty minutes, when they rush to the river and take a plunge. After thus cleansing themselves they take a number of small willow branches and cover them with grease and charcoal; their ends are then stuck in the earth, in a corner of the planting ground, in such manner as to form the framework of a miniature sweat-lodge, in the center of which are put live coals of fire. From the mountains has previously been obtained a root called “ bear-root,” which is chipped and placed upon the fire; but before this is done the root is held by the ‘ father ’ in his right hand, which he extends successively toward the east, the south, the west, and the north, facing the east all the time, so that when the hand is extended to the west it is necessarily passed over and back of his head, and when extended to the north it is also over the head. From this last position the ‘ father ’ lowers the root with a spiral movement (as a crane alights) toward the fire. This is done four times, each time the hand coming nearer the fire, until, on its fourth descent, the chipped root is placed upon the fire.

As the incense arises sunward a pipe is filled and lighted by the ‘ father,’ who sends the first whiff toward the sun, at the same time pointing the stem thereto and praying that the people may live long. The next whiff is blown toward the east, the ‘ father ’ at the same time pointing the stem of the pipe downward and praying that the people may have no sickness. If the smoke from the burning bear-root rises straight, prayerful petitions are made that the tobacco plant may grow as straight as the smoke, and that the participants and the whole tribe may have no misfortune.<sup>1</sup>

#### INSPECTION AND HARVEST.

During the period between the planting and the harvesting a number of rules are observed. The men belonging to the society when smoking make a motion outward and upward with their pipes, discontinuing the practice after the harvest. Further, no grass is burned by members. The man who fanned the fire does not permit anyone to move firewood in his lodge and the other members of his chapter observe the same regu-

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<sup>1</sup>Simms, 334–335.



lation until the Tobacco is harvested. Bull-chief said that after the planting the members do not eat the soft bones (marrow?) of beef lest there be tooth prints on the harvested Tobacco. Likewise they abstained from wild celery and bull's testes lest the Tobacco berries be yellow and spoiled. After the plants have come out there must be no shinny playing or the Tobacco will break down. On the other hand it is lucky, according to Gray-bull, to be the first to eat young deer meat after the planting since the first member to do so will have a big crop. Ralph Saco, of the Bighorn District, mentioned a taboo somewhat different from those previously mentioned. During the period defined the members should not sing Weasel, Otter, or any other Tobacco songs except such as refer to the Tobacco itself; otherwise they will have a poor crop. The members dance rather frequently at this time in order to make the plant grow faster.

After the planting comes the inspection. There is some discrepancy in the several accounts but practically all agree that there are properly four visits to the garden for the purpose of investigating how the Tobacco is getting along. I will follow one of Gray-bull's narratives.

Four days after the planting the husband of the Medicine-bearer returns to look at the garden; sometimes he is accompanied by his wife, regularly by a chief or famous warrior, who looks at the Tobacco first. On this point Arm-round-the-neck said that the inspectors took with them scouts who had seen the enemy and dispatched these towards the garden when the party had got close to it. The scouts went, looked and returned to their companions, hallooing as on a war party. They tell the rest that the Tobacco is coming up well. On returning to camp, Gray-bull continues, the inspector reports to the Mixers accordingly, and they sing songs of rejoicing. Several days later the man who sang at the second halting-place in the procession to the garden goes to inspect and tells the Mixers on his return what he has seen. They again sing songs of joy. A third man goes about twelve or fourteen days later and generally finds the plants about two inches high. He goes back and tells the Mixers that the Tobacco is coming up very well, and they sing songs of joy. A fourth man goes from twenty to forty days after his predecessor and reports to the Mixers that the Tobacco is growing well. After the return of each inspector there is a Tobacco dance.

From other accounts it would appear that the Mixers went to inspect each time. Crane-bear says he went to the garden seventeen days after the planting and returned to inspect it with a uniform interval

of seventeen days between successive visits. More frequently the periods are given as four days (between the planting and the first inspection), seven, ten, and fourteen days, which intervals also agree with those of Gray-bull's origin tradition.<sup>1</sup>

Bear-gets-up says that at the fourth inspection a Mixer goes toward the garden with all the members. They have dinner first, then the Mixer goes to the garden and builds a fire in it, on which he smokes *isé* incense. Then the people come and pull up the weeds growing on the plot. Somewhat later in the season a Mixer again inspects the ground, looking for weeds, and notifies the members, who come to remove them.

On August 25, 1913, when approaching Grasshopper's house, my interpreter and I caught sight of a group of people in the distance, in the little garden near Bad-man's house. We drove up and discovered Old-woman and Bad-man in the garden, with In-the-hole and Flat-head-woman standing just outside. I was told they were going to harvest on the following day, but the ceremony was postponed for some reason. I noted that Old-woman always pointed at the Tobacco not with her fingers but with a stick. This is one of the taboos; neither the Tobacco nor the stars, which the Tobacco represents, must be pointed at with the hands.

Nowadays practically all members have the right to 'take back,' i.e., to harvest their Tobacco. Formerly this was a privilege to be purchased from the Mixer, who received four presents in return. Members lacking the right would have their adopters get their Tobacco for them. Gray-bull himself had given away, i.e., sold the right.

The season for the harvest is "when the cherries are ripe." Theoretically all the chapters take back Tobacco on the same day (Gray-bull, Lone-tree), but on July 12th, 1910 when I attended the first harvest of the year the Ducks alone were in the garden to the number of about half a dozen. They removed the seed case not with their thumb nails but with a small piece of wood.

The harvesters rub *isé* root on their hands and feet before plucking the Tobacco. Generally the Mixer, accompanied by several members of his chapter, gets the new Tobacco and brings it back to camp, where they dance in the adoption lodge as at the time directly after the planting (see below). Arm-round-the-neck says they sing at the plot and then pick the Tobacco. After returning to camp with it they dance separately by chapters. The Mixer has tied up in separate bags the

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<sup>1</sup>Curtis (IV, 67) sets the visits at four, seven, nine, and ten days after the initiation.

Tobacco of members who have not gone to the garden, hands it to them and receives presents in return. Non-members sometimes give a horse to the Mixers at this time in order to get a necklace of Tobacco or some other medicine.

Another informant said that when gathering Tobacco the members take the very best food to the garden and give it to other people. After picking the Tobacco they take it to an adoption lodge on the following day and dance with it there. Then they clean their hands by rubbing them on the ground, for otherwise if they touched their faces with their hands sores would break out on them.<sup>1</sup> At the close of the dance there is a special song, after which the dancers run home; the one who gets home first will enjoy good luck.

If some of the Tobacco is not yet full-sized or mature at the first gathering, subsequent visits to the garden are made. After the *last* crop of the season an adoption lodge is erected and the members dance with the newly plucked Tobacco. Then the Tobacco stems and leaves are plucked out, cut up fine, mixed with meat and ordinary tobacco, and thrown into a creek. Gray-bull did not know why this was done but suggested that since the Tobacco was mixed with water before the planting it was natural to throw it into the water again after the harvest.

Crane-bear speaks of four harvesting visits to the garden with a dance after each one. After the fourth time the stems are thrown into the water. If the Tobacco did not grow they believed they should die.

### ORIGIN TRADITIONS.

Accounts of the evolution of the chapters have been given above. Traditions relating to the origin of the society itself have been deferred until now because several of them presuppose a knowledge of the ceremonial. It is eminently characteristic of Crow culture that there should be no one standard myth but a variety of in part discordant versions. In some measure, to be sure, the difference is one of the interest on the part of the myth-maker rather than an actual clash as to statements of fact. Thus, some of the variants purport to explain merely how the Tobacco came into the possession of the Crow, others describe at length the institution of the society and certain ritualistic features as ordained through supernatural communications. The latter, while rather tedious reading, furnish valuable confirmation for some of the preceding accounts of the Tobacco ceremony.

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<sup>1</sup>Crane-bear speaks of itching and pimples.



Two notions which find expression in these traditions represent the general Crow point of view. The Tobacco is universally identified with the stars; and it is regarded as the distinctive medicine of the Crow, being equivalent to the Medicine Pipe of the Hidatsa.<sup>1</sup>

I will begin with the free translation of a brief text recorded in 1907 in the Reno District.

The ancient Crow and Hidatsa lived together. Our chiefs were named Tat-toed-face and New-moon-face. A buffalo bull once came swimming across the Missouri. When he got to the near side, they killed him. They butchered him, but did not give any of the manifolds to New-moon-face's followers. They were offended and went away till they got to the mountains. The Hidatsa went in the opposite direction and took to raising corn and pumpkins.

A Crow (the chief?) said, "Way over there they (supernatural powers) have given me something (in a dream), thither I will go; they speak of winning horses." He got on a hill and saw the mountain he had seen in his vision. "They want me to stay at the foot," he said, "they are giving me something, I'll go." He went. On the mountainside he saw a star shining. He took it and carried it away with him. He wrapped it up and did not show it to anyone. After a while the green grass appeared on the ground. Where there was a cleared space he planted some of his find and kept some of it. Then it grew. He gathered it and gave some to four persons. "Thus shall we be people," he said, "do you plant it, and when it grows give it to four persons, taking pay for it. Then we shall not be poor." This custom still exists to the present day. This man who first owned the Tobacco lived to be very old, so that his skin became frayed with age before he died.<sup>2</sup> After him the people continued to raise it until this day.

Another version clearly differentiates the sacred objects regarded as characteristic of the Crow and the Hidatsa.

When everything had been arranged on the earth, the Crow began to travel over their territory with their pack dogs. A woman had two sons. The younger was adopted by the stars and blessed with the vision of the Tobacco, while the older had a vision of the Medicine Pipe. This happened in the country now occupied by the Hidatsa. A quarrel rose, the Crow separated from the Hidatsa. The younger brother said, "Let us go to the mountains, where my 'father' has shown me how to plant these things." But the older brother replied, "*My* 'father' bade me stay here. I will try to live by the Medicine Pipe, the corn, and the pumpkin." Accordingly, the two brothers separated, each remaining with one of the two bands. Ever since then the Crow have kept their Tobacco. Later visionaries made additions to the ceremony in accordance with their revelations.

The following version, obtained from Crane-bear, a resident of Pryor District, does not refer to the traditional separation of the Crow and Hidatsa, but is equally clear in identifying the Tobacco with a star.

<sup>1</sup>Incidentally, the Hidatsa do not regard the Pipe as one of their peculiar and ancient medicines.

<sup>2</sup>This is a stereotyped expression to denote the great age attained by men blessed with a revelation



At the time of the year when young birds become fledglings a little boy went out to hunt birds nearly every day. One day he shot off all his arrows and could not find any of them; he had only his bow left. As he sat resting in the shade, a young man came up to him and asked, "What are you doing?" "Do you know me?" "I do not know you." "I am one of the stars above. I have two bodies, I'll give you one (*maxúa rūpem, hawátem barák'bīk'.*) Will you know it if I give you one?" "I don't know." "You will know. If I give you this, I don't want you to forget, and when you get to a certain age I want you to do as I tell you. I'll visit you four times while you grow up, and each time I'll speak to you about it. The fourth time you'll begin to perform." On his second visit the star said to him, "Get buffalo chips and elk chips, and the berries from a cactus plant and wild onions." The next time he asked, "Have you got all I told you about?" "Yes." "Get a beaver hide skinned so that it can be used for a sack; a rattle; and some ground-mole dirt (*bāsare*). I'll see you in the spring and that will be my last visit." In the spring while roaming round on the prairies the boy was visited again and was asked whether he had got everything as ordered. "Yes, I have everything in the hide of a spring calf." "Now it is spring, the grass is coming out, and I'll give you my second body. Camp in a place where you see a row of trees pointing toward the mountains. Sit there and take a stick four hands long, and make a little garden square of that size facing the mountains. I'll give you my second body now." He took from his neck four Tobacco plants and told him, "Put these four into the ground." He had some manure and burned incense of the *isē* plant. "Take buffalo chips and mix them with Tobacco seeds. You'll be the leader of a war party and get horses and everything else you wish for. When you'll plant me, I'll be a young man every year." He sang a song and said, "Put mole dirt and some onion into the beaver sack, then the beaver will make you dream, show you what to do, and will give you a song." He sang one song, shaking his rattle. "Its first name is *ōpe*, later it shall be called *ì'tsi'tsià*. It is *i'g'eréze*, the morningstar." The plants have generally three crosses; *nākaxpicà* (open line) is another name for the plant, referring to the crosses. "Come and visit me three times, and the fourth time, when the cherries shall be ripe, you may take me. These (the cactus, berry, onion, and beaver) are my servants. Each in turn will show you different things. At the time of the harvest I myself shall make you see the future and teach you some songs. Some time I'll make you dream of adopting others. When that time comes you may adopt and have 'children.' All of my stars own this second body of mine. When I grow, I'll be one stem for each plant. At the end of each stem will be four cherries." The man disappeared. When the time came, the visionary did not know what to do with the stem. He took it home. Beaver appeared to him in a dream and said, "I am his servant, throw the stem into the water. It needs the water." So next morning he threw the stems into the water. The next night Beaver again came and said, "Let us adopt children, look." Then the visionary saw two children, painted red. "Look further." Then he saw two others, with little beavers in their lap. Beaver said, "That is I," referring to the little beaver. Then the man went round the camp, found a very poor orphan boy, and offered to adopt him into the Tobacco ceremony. The boy consented. He took him into his tipi, sang the songs given to him, and thus adopted him. "You are my son now. My first payment shall be meat. When some of the men go hunting, accompany them and bring some meat to me. I am your parent now." The orphan went along on the next hunt, packed meat and put it before his parent. "This is the first pay I have received. Now I'll

give you my necklace." The Founder took off his necklace, gave it to his adopted son, and bade him adopt someone else. So the orphan picked out a second orphan boy and treated him as he himself had been treated by his 'father.' He also asked his son to bring meat for the first initiation payment. The Founder made a necklace of one Tobacco plant, keeping the first necklace originally given to him. He made a second necklace for his 'son' and another for his son's adopted son. Then he said, "Adopt another." "No, I'll wait till I shall have returned from a war party with my 'son'." "What are you going out with?" "With this necklace you have given me and which I have dreamt about." Instead of killing the enemy, he brought back six head of horses. His father said: "Don't go on any more war parties until your 'son' has adopted a child."

Beaver gave to the last orphan adopted a dream in which he bade him adopt not a single person but a married couple. There were thus five members when this couple had been adopted. At that time initiation presents consisted of meat exclusively. The married man picked out an elderly man and his wife and adopted them. Then there were seven members. "Now," they said, "let us dance the Tobacco dance. Let us all get rattles." The two women had beaver skins made for them to be used for medicines. The necklaces used hitherto by the members were unpainted; now the Founder painted his necklace red. Each member had two rattles, which they beat against each other. They sang this song:—

i'tsi'tséwa                      d'firuk' ,      awaxáwesa                      d'firuk'.

All the Tobacco plants      are walking,      towards the mountain      they are walking.

They danced. The women danced. Beaver lay on the ground. The people looked on and thought the dance was fine; they wanted to be adopted and join. A certain man came up for this purpose, but the members told him he was too young, that they wanted to adopt only old people. Being refused admission he went crying on the prairies, then came back to the last couple initiated and asked them how they were adopted. They said they had given meat in order to be adopted. "I want you to adopt me." "Wait, I'll see my grandfather first and see what he says." The Founder said they had not enough seed left and bade the candidate wait until the next spring.

Every month they performed the Tobacco dance. The candidate always brought meat to them. When the time for planting came, they said, "Let us plant and when we get new seeds, then we can adopt him and make a necklace for him, too." This happened when the Founder was already an old man. The novice was adopted with his wife, making nine members in all. When the time for planting came, other people looked on and said they were glad to see it and liked it. The last couple were told to pay a bow and arrows, moccasins, and leggings, and a robe, also to kill a buffalo by way of initiation fee. The society danced every month at the time of the new moon. They went through the same harvest performance as in the previous year. The Founder told the members to get the pericardium of a buffalo and to use it as a tobacco sack, for the star had said that that was his own covering. The Tobacco gave the Founder a dream bidding him put him in a sack and tie a meadowlark to the outside of it. The outsiders wished to get initiated for they saw that poor people after being adopted were getting along well. This was especially true of the first novice, who secured horses and was a successful leader. The Founder said that was just what he wanted. The membership increased to sixteen, including wives of married men.

A certain man by the name of Blanket-owner was refused admission to the society. He went about crying on the Rosebud. One day, when driving horses to water in the springtime, he saw some prairie-chickens dancing and watched their movements. One of the birds on the outskirts said: "All of you, come hither, now let us have a Tobacco dance." The headman said, "Go and fetch my drum." Another chicken went to the brush and when he came out he was transformed into a person with a drum painted yellow, which he gave to the prairie-chicken headman. He said, "When I sing the song, let your wings droop and drag on the ground." Then he sang the first song:—

tsĩtsk·akāta,	tsĩtsk·akāta	nápure	t-k·ātk',
Little prairie-chickens,	little prairie-chickens,	breasts	outward a little put,
dĩpe	őopik·.		
your tail	is square.		

He sang the next song:—

awaxáwe	h`rerìøk',	bĩ ík· akawè,	bapákurità
Mountains	among them be,	look at me	day after day
bĩ ík·akawe.			
me look at.			

(This means that the dance will last for a long time.)

The prairie-chicken then spoke to the man: "You have been refused admission. Go back with those sixteen members, have children,<sup>1</sup> and dance with them. We'll see which of us is stronger, they or I. Do not let yourself be adopted by any of them now; for all that, you will have more children than any of the rest."

Some time after this the visionary with his wife entered the next Tobacco dance. "How do you come in?" "I have joined you. You refused to adopt me. Now I make a dance of my own. You are dancing without a drum, I'll make a drum and dance with it." So he had one made exactly as he saw it in his vision, with yellowish-brown paint, and used it to dance with. He said, "I'll have more children than you. You have only sixteen members in all." Thereupon he began to adopt some new members every year till he had seventeen. "We'll plant Tobacco now." He had a dream in which he saw the cactus-berry, onion, beaver dirt, and mole dirt. He made a collection of these substances and plants and said he was going to use them. Thus he began to plant *mixed* Tobacco. He said that he had a dream ordering the planting of Tobacco. By this time the Founder, his 'son,' and his 'grandson' were all dead. The fourth novice said to Blanket-owner, "I will join you." Then Blanket-owner refused to allow it. So the man refused gave him a horse and was then allowed to look at the mixture. "This is the proper mixture, but we have never used it heretofore. Let each take half of it, then we'll dance together." The other man asked, "What shall we use to start with?" Blanket-owner said, "I'll get some buffalo tongue and bones, we'll chop the bones fine, make tallow out of it, and we'll make and use hash." They had a planting without songs.

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<sup>1</sup>That is: "proceed to adopt outsiders."



Two young men who were comrades said, "Let us sleep there and see what will happen." Next morning one of them asked the other whether he had had a dream. "Yes, a bear showed me how to mix hash with rosebush berries, and I know something about that Tobacco now." "We'll join," said the two friends, "when we have grown older." After some time the two got married, and the dreamer then said, "I'll join in the ceremony and stay for some time, then I'll adopt you and we'll enter without being adopted by anyone else, I'll stay one month before I adopt you." So the two comrades also became members.

The owners of necklaces continued to use them, turning them over to one another. When the man who originated the use of drums was old, he decided to make a necklace for himself and his 'children.' In the old days when they wanted to be adopted, they had to ask for it, while now the adopter takes the initiative and asks someone to become his 'child' after giving the novice a present.

A certain young man dreamt in the Tobacco garden and saw a white bird. He adopted someone and told his 'child' to get the head of a white bird and pass it on to his 'child,' also to use the Tobacco necklace. Thus the bird continued to be handed down. One old man had a vision of a paunch-skin and of the Tobacco mixture. "We'll use this in planting." He also made a stick to tie his paunch to. One of the men initiated by the drum-visionary dreamt of the adoption lodge. He went to the head of the Eagle chapter, told him of his vision, and said, "Our fathers never told us of the lodge." The other said, "I have had the same dream. If we dream again, then we'll make it." He saw it again and then said, "Let us start it, and let one of your children adopt someone."

In the beginning there was only one Tobacco society, but now they were all splitting up. Now also all novices had to pay in order to be adopted, and invariably bows and arrows were included in the initiation fee. The novice dreamt of the inside of the lodge, thus discovering how to fix it up, then asked and received of his 'father' the privilege to erect the lodge. For this he paid his 'father' ten horses, then he himself fixed up the inside. The 'father' said, "I was never told about this, but it must be right." Then horses and other property were taken to the lodge. The one who had the bird medicine said to his 'father,' "You have forgotten one thing." "What is it?" "That they put buffalo chips along a line and put medicine sacks on top, and that back of it there is a buffalo robe headed towards the mountains." "It must be so, but I have never heard of it. It is good." Only Tobacco is taken out of the sack at an adoption. The novice had a vision of the song of rejoicing sung and of the man sent for water, and of the building of a fire. He dreamt that this was all there was to the adoption lodge and told the rest accordingly. My grandfather was the first one to exchange presents at an adoption; he and the other man exchanged the best horses they had.

Until this time there had never been a leader in marching to the Tobacco garden. Once some young men went on the warpath, accompanied by a woman who lay with them. They were chased by the Piegan. Though they formed breastworks, they were driven away from them and the woman was captured. One of the Piegan had an otter which he would pack when on the warpath. By its aid he fetched horses and performed other deeds. The Crow woman saw it and decided to steal it since it was a big medicine. She stole it and ran home with it. She was overtaken by a snowstorm when along a big river, and she slept there with the otter by her bosom. The otter

gave her a dream and told her she was a woman but that if they got home in safety they should join the Tobacco and take the lead in going to the garden. "We'll get home in safety, your people are in such and such a place." She went on till she got to the Crow. When home, she thought she would join in the Tobacco dance. This was above where Yellow-crane's land now is. The Tobacco dance was started, and the woman went there with her otter. She said to the members: "I'll tell you something now. Don't ask me anything. You have no leader and it does not look right. We<sup>1</sup> shall be the leaders, and some good will come of it. When a captive among the Piegan, I saw how great this medicine was and decided to steal it and run away. A snowstorm caught me, and in the night the otter spoke to me. He told me I was a woman so he could not do much for me, but he would be leader with me. Do not start tomorrow; I shall send a hunter to bring a buffalo head, then I shall have hair cut to stuff the otter with.<sup>2</sup> We'll start the following day." After she had the skin stuffed, she went into the lodge where they were dancing and had twelve eagle feathers brought there. These she took and tied them below the otter's neck, then put a crown of ground-cedar on her head, donned a robe, and held the otter in her arm.

After a while she had a daughter. This girl was adopted into the Tobacco society, and when she married, her mother gave her the otter. Thus the daughter came to take her mother's place in the Tobacco procession. When the man who had adopted the daughter died, she mourned for him, going about crying near prairie-dog holes. She saw the prairie-dogs performing the Tobacco dance, with their chins painted red and with curlew feathers in the back of their heads. She was carrying the otter in her arms. Now she saw how a leader should paint. She was a young woman at this time. She adopted a male captive named Half-red and told him to get a lodge. This had always been handed down; she bade him take one not handed down before.<sup>3</sup> A man had adopted both Flat-dog's<sup>4</sup> father and the woman adopting Half-red. This woman asked Flat-dog's father to turn over the lodge to her 'son,' who thus became the third owner. This happened in my lifetime. The woman got to be very old, so old her body would crack when she moved about. Then she turned the otter over to her daughter, bidding her lead as she had done before. This woman was the mother of Paints-himself-black. I do not know who has the otter now.

Originally ten horses were paid for adoption lodges. Today the price includes only one horse and four different objects. The chin and two spots under the eyes were formerly painted red by lodge-owners. Later, they did not paint thus any more, but instead painted the forehead red, streaked the face with the same color, and bunched up the hair of the head and tied it. Lately white clay has been used for painting.

The account quoted may not be strictly accurate even for the more recent period of the development of the Tobacco ceremony, yet it certainly reflects very well a number of characteristic Crow conceptions. Foremost among these is the view entertained as to the mode of acquiring ceremonial privileges. Invariably originating in a vision or dream,

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<sup>1</sup>That is, she and the otter.

<sup>2</sup>Previously there had been very little stuffing among the Piegan, but the woman developed this feature (Crane-bear).

<sup>3</sup>This statement is obscure.

<sup>4</sup>Flat-dog was still living in 1914.

these are found to be transferable according to a sort of apostolic succession, inasmuch as the visionary may adopt novices to participate in the ceremonial possessions, while these in turn may pass on their privilege to *their* ceremonial children. Independent lines of ceremonial descent are traced back to independent dream revelations; so are all innovations even within the old lines. So far as the history of new organizations is known, it corresponds closely to the pattern laid down in Crane-bear's narrative. In the second place may be mentioned the incidental statement that in the old days only old people were members of the Tobacco organization. This was confirmed by a variety of independent informants, all of whom contrasted the old with the new order of things, where even young children are eligible for initiation. On such occasions one may hear cited the prophetic warning of an ancient Crow: "When all of us shall belong to the Tobacco society, we shall not be much of a people" (cf. p. 135). Finally, the motive for joining coincides with that given for the desire to secure almost any ceremonial prerogatives, viz., the quest of material benefits, suggested particularly by the well-being and wealth of formerly poor people who had become members.

While Crane-bear's account lays emphasis on the gradual elaboration of ceremonial detail with new revelations, Bull-all-the-time, whose story follows, slurs over the development of the several chapters and accounts for features of the present planting ceremony itself by projecting them into the past.

An old man in mourning was roaming about, fasting. In a day dream one of the stars appeared and gave him the Tobacco, which was the star itself. Handing the man a small package, the star taught him this song:—

hirér      aké wik;      í'tsi'tsǝ      aké wik'.  
Of these   the Owner I am; of the Tobacco plant   the Owner I am.

The mourner returned to camp and cast about for followers. He got three married old men. "What shall we do?" "Wait, we'll get more followers, then we'll see what we are to do." They did not know what kind of a song to sing. The visionary made four rattles from the hide taken from the flanks of a buffalo. "With these you'll keep time. A woman shall prepare a feast, and after the singing we'll eat." He told one woman she was to have the office of cook and should afterwards get property thereby. During the singing he distributed songs. The woman was to pass eatables round. He told them to wait for the opening of the buds, then they were to plant the Tobacco. When this time came, he distributed equal quantities of Tobacco to all. They got all the ingredients necessary for mixing. They dug a hole in the ground, made a wreath of grass round it, and placed *taxerùrpe* underneath. They sang four songs and threw in all the different ingredients except buffalo chips. Then tobacco smoke was blown in. Next day buffalo chips were crushed fine between the



fingers and placed with the other ingredients. There were ten members with their wives at that time. Next day they painted up in a preparatory lodge. They had bags. In coming out they sang a special song:—

“í'tsi'tse            âsbáwik'.”

“Tobacco            I'll take out.”

Four times they sang this, then they came out as today. While going to the Tobacco garden they made a noise in imitation of the crane. They stopped four times on the way. After the fourth stop all made a dash to the garden with their medicines. They cleared the ground of weeds, then they took the bark of trees, spread it on the field and burnt it. After that they took buck-brush (?), and with it swept off the ashes from the fire. Before planting they sang this song:—

hirén    awúsawáwik'.    ópe    apámbáwik'.

These    I'll paint.            Tobacco    I'll raise.

Then they took ropes, marked rows a certain distance apart from one another and stuck cherry sticks into the ground.<sup>1</sup> They sang four times before planting. Selecting a good (i.e. a brave) person, they made him run across the first row where they were to plant and back again. Today this practice is still followed. Then they planted the seeds, went away, and came back, four days later. Then the mixers hid themselves. Those who went to look reported that the Tobacco was peeping through the ground. They came home, singing praise songs:—

ahókacîra            bas'ôpuæ    apáre.

Thank you very much,    our Tobacco    grows.

Then ten days later<sup>2</sup> eatables were prepared in great quantities and they lunched near the garden. They went to one end of the garden, burned ísé in one corner, and put a pipe toward the four quarters for the Tobacco. This song was sung:—

āk'bāpáre    cōrək'?    ak'bāpáre    bīk'.

The Planter    where is he?    The Planter    am I.

Fourteen days later they went again to harvest the Tobacco. At a later period, they had adoptions. They pitched an adoption lodge. The first woman to lead the procession from the preparatory lodge wore a ground-cedar wreath and put some ground-cedar leaves into the bowl of her pipe. They sang the proper song four times. After four stops they entered the adoption lodge. Four times they sang inside, then they sent a warrior for water. On his return he made a speech as today. After that all of them sang. Drums were not used; in the beginning they used rattles exclusively. Presents of robes, powder horns, and other articles were given, then they started the Tobacco dance. Next winter they began to use drums, everyone liked this better. The privileges of raising the lodge and of passing the food began then.

The dancers increased in number. The í'tsi'tsǎmbicè, my own chapter, is the oldest of all. The Duck chapter was dreamt later so were the Weasel, Wolverine, Eagle, Otter, and Yellow Tobacco chapters. Recently, there were added the Straw-

<sup>1</sup>To mark the rows belonging to different individuals.

<sup>2</sup>Bull-all-the-time fails to mention the customary visit that took place seven days after the first (p. 175).

berry and Pine chapters. The founder of the Yellow Tobacco chapter had a vision of a man dressed in yellow, standing at the edge of the Tobacco garden and singing towards the Tobacco. When the visionary came home, he dressed up all his adopted children in the manner of the visitant. The Weasel chapter was dreamt by an old man on Cloud's Peak, who saw a man dancing with a weasel in each hand and a whistle in his mouth; a weasel strip tied to the right bang, and a whole weasel skin round the head for a crown.

In 1911 Gray-bull gave the following tradition, which long ago he had elicited from an old man.

Once an old man was fasting on a mountain top. At night the stars from above came down; there were four men, each having a star in front of himself. They began to dance and sing with rattles and the visionary joined them. The first man sang four songs and told the others to sing too. He said, "My child, remember what we have done here." The second man sang only one song, and so did the third. The fourth man struck the ground with his rattle and also sang one song. This made seven songs in all, accordingly the visionary believed these men were the Dipper. They put the shining objects they had in front of them into one bag and gave it to the visionary. This is why the Tobacco we plant is regarded as being stars.

The man brought back the Tobacco and did what he had seen on the mountains. He called four other Crow and sang a song he had heard. He made them act according to his experiences and told them he was going to plant on cleared ground in the spring and would harvest in the fall. The four Crow consented and had it announced in camp that people were to move towards the mountains and find a nice spot under an aspen grove. They moved. The visionary called these four men and their wives, also two additional couples, he himself being the seventh. He distributed the plant among them. They hoed the ground, cleared it, and laid dry grass on top. The founder said he would show them how to do it and they would enjoy it as children enjoy playing. He told them to put twigs on top. He took a flint, struck fire, and made burning firebrands for the rest. The entire Crow camp had turned out and all were looking on. He sang his bird song, flapping his eagle wings at the same time. At the close of the fourth song he said, "*kahé!*" (Ready!) At this signal they put the firebrands down at one side on the grass, then he took his wings, flapped them and sang. The fire spread, burning up all the dry grass. The other people went home, commenting on his power. The fire left the ground black. The founder sang a song and pushed a young man, who ran across the field and back and thus reported on his return:—

dúxiwarêk'      ítsik'âta bârapîu      , ictâxiâ burutsîk'.  
I went on the warpath. In safety they killed an enemy , a gun I took.

karakôm bôia, aratefruæ      awákam,      bâtsuâ      ahúk' .  
Then I came, the gardens you made I saw,      the cherries were plenty.

â'axe      bicé ahúk'. karakôm bôak, bôra      acéwak,  
Around (were) buffalo many. Then I came, as I came camp I reached,

acisbuxúcuk.      bôra, acé      bâwim,      apsâruke      ítsik'âta  
I signaled to the camp. I came, the camp I got to,      the Crow well

âra'kuk.  
were faring.

All the seven original members ran across the field, i.e., each in turn sang a song and had a runner run across the plots. After marking the ground the founder called the young men and women to plant the Tobacco.

When the seven had done, they went home, prepared food and sang. Before moving camp the next morning the visionary ordered the other members to take trade tobacco, mix it with fat from the back of a buffalo and lay it under the head of their pillow. They moved a short distance. They camped four times before making their final departure from the garden; every night the seven men sang. The founder said, "You may go where you please and hunt buffalo." When the chokecherries had formed balls, they planted; when the cherries were ripe, they got the crop. On the fourth day after the planting they looked at the spot, and the dirt had raised a little. On the seventh day<sup>1</sup> they went back again and one of the seven members reported that the plant was just coming out. On the tenth day a third one went to see the garden and reported, "Its belly is above the ground (*êre awisæk'*). On the fourteenth day a fourth man went and reported, "It is growing all right." When the berries are ripe, the white flower is on the Tobacco plant; when the seeds are black they pick them. The seven gathered the seeds. Some were marked with stars; these were taken on the warpath, some used a string of them as a necklace, others tied them to the back of the head. In sighting the enemy's camp they sang a Tobacco song and pointed towards the camp, saying, "I'll take a gun," or "I'll take a horse." The seven original members adopted others, and thus the society grew.

At the first planting one of the original members slept at the garden, heard a song and saw the raising of the pipe, which is put forward and raised a little higher at the close of each successive song until at the close of the fourth it is pointed straight up. This man bade the Crow dance with the pipe at the end of the ceremony in order to aid the growth of the Tobacco. The privilege of dancing with the pipe is now (1911) monopolized by two women, one of whom is Among-the-grass.

Little-rump gave the following fragmentary account:—

Before there were any horses a young man was fasting on several mountains and during his quest he came over the divide by the Musselshell River. While crossing it he got to a wooden gun rod, to which a paunch (*êraxé ice*) was tied. He looked round, but no one was there. He heard someone talking inside the paunch. He took it under his blanket and heard it talk, saying, "When you go to the enemy, let us get out." When he got to the enemy he opened the bag and men came out of it. They killed the enemy, bringing back scalps and guns, then re-entered the paunch. He went to another tribe, opened his paunch and let the men get out. They brought back horses, which he distributed among the Crow. Later he achieved much through the paunch, killing enemies and bringing horses. The Crow raised the horses and were not so poor as before. The visionary did not tell the other Indians about his paunch. He went out to drive buffalo towards the camp and became chief of the entire tribe. When old he dreamt songs through the paunch. When very old, he took out its contents and planted them in the ground. Some others helped him. After it grew, they tied it up in bags, and when any of the men went on a war party they took one of the bags along and killed the enemy or brought back horses. The paunch-owner lived to be very old, so old that his skin would tear. He had a son and gave him

<sup>1</sup>It is not certain from my notes whether this means after the planting or after the first inspection; I incline to the latter view.



the paunch, and he kept on planting the Tobacco till he got very old and died. He had a son and gave him the paunch in turn, and he continued planting till he got so old that this skin tore and he died. His son planted Tobacco also. He had a yellow meadowlark tied to his heart. Then they began to adopt. They believe this came from the stars, that the stars gave it to the Crow. Thus we became people.<sup>1</sup> Some dreamt and saw it themselves and added the Mixer and other officers, and the adoption lodge, one person buying these rights from another. The Crow adopted some Piegan, then the Piegan also began it. In the spring when the sage begins to grow they plant Tobacco. In the old days after harvesting they had a dance with the seeds on returning to camp. This is not done now any more. In the old days there were not many members; no children were adopted then, but mostly old people.

As to the origin of the Piegan ceremony Bear-gets-up was more specific:—

A war party of Piegan came to the Crow and found them inspecting their Tobacco, which was coming up fine so that all the Crow were satisfied. The Piegan, to the number of about twenty, came to the garden after the Crow had departed and pulled out the Tobacco. One of them, however, said, "You have no right to pluck these out, these are dangerous. We are trying to have good luck." He picked them up again, wrapped them up in a bag, carried them with him, and kept them under his pillow. He dreamt that someone was talking in the garden, saying, "We shall get even with these." When he awoke, he arose, roused his nearest relatives, and fled with them. They went some distance at daybreak, then they heard some shooting. They got home in safety, the rest were all killed for destroying the garden. The Piegan took his Tobacco home and repeatedly dreamt about it. Now a good many Piegan are in the Tobacco dance; one Crow adopted a Piegan.

To return to the Crow origin traditions. Pretty-enemy gave the following account:—

Some men were on the warpath. On the way home one member of the party had a sore leg, and they had to leave him behind with a hut and provisions. His leg got well and he approached the camp. He was traveling slowly with the aid of a cane. On his way he slept and heard a voice saying, "A whole camp is coming." He looked and saw a group of small people lined up as in a Tobacco procession. Everyone had a buckskin suit and all were painted red; on the forehead they had strips of the back skin of buffalo, which are now represented by juniper crowns. All the people wore these, and each was carrying a Tobacco sack. The dreamer heard a voice say, "Do you know what is in this bag? What is on the back of these people they are going to plant. They will let you see it. I'll tell you how they mix it. All those people are very old". In ancient times only old people were in the Tobacco ceremony. The voice added, "In the bags are prairie-onion, mole-dirt, bear's root, 'prairie-dog's coal' (a vine)." Tobacco was not mentioned. I think bear's root is the real seed. Lately, combining the three substances, the Crow have called the mixture 'Tobacco'.<sup>2</sup> The visionary made a vow: "If I live, I'll do what I saw in the vision." He got well and began to plant bear's root. Afterwards buffalo or elk manure and other ingredients were added.

<sup>1</sup>A favorite expression, evidently meaning "people of consequence."

<sup>2</sup>This of course is an erroneous view.

In a collection of Crow traditions<sup>1</sup> I have already published two myths told by Medicine-crow, which connect the Tobacco with the story of the creation. Old-Man-Coyote, whom my informant alternately identified with and distinguished from the Sun, after causing birds to bring up mud from the bottom of the sea, fashions the earth from it, and then discovers a number of independent beings, of which the Tobacco is one.<sup>2</sup> In the longer variant the Sun gives some general instructions as to the planting of Tobacco, then the narrative merges into the following account of how the Tobacco dance was started.

A poor boy went out fasting and the Sun came and adopted him, ordering him to get an elk bladder on his return, tie it to a pole, and place it at the back of his tipi. The boy said, "If I carry this around with us, it will perpetuate our living." He took a Tobacco seed case, placed it in the bladder and hung it round his neck, using this on war expeditions. There were no horses then, dogs were used for packing. There were no matches, no guns, and they made fire by drilling wood. When the boy grew older he became a chief and was like a father to the Crow. He said at last, "I am getting old, I'll plant this medicine of the Stars for you." He called all the men and women. "The mountain likes this medicine." He cleared the ground, sang with his medicine, and planted it. They moved camp and roamed about. After the planting the dance started. Buffalo tongues were used at the luncheon at the dance. "When the berries are ripe, we'll see what we have planted." They came back to the garden. "When the leaves turn yellow in the fall, we'll gather it and each one will keep some of it."

When they were journeying, he said, "Four days after breaking camp some of you must come back and see this. Then we'll take our first look at it." On their return he said, "My children, how is it getting along?" The inspectors replied, "It is just peeping out of the ground." He had big cottonwood lodge poles cut and had made a big tipi. "We'll have lots of eatables and sing there." They put up the lodge. First they went to a preparatory tipi. "We'll use four stops before entering the lodge." He gave them a special song for the first stop; it has no words, but represents the coming back of the wild geese in the spring. "All the birds coming back have a leader. We'll have one too." So he gave his wife the pipe and she led the procession. This established the precedent. They had four stops after coming out. After they got into the lodge he stood up and said, "On any good day, when people are glad, they always drink water." He ordered an old woman to make a soapstone bucket and put it some distance outside the lodge. "On your way to the water and back, you must think of some of your deeds, and you can tell us then of the killing in the evening. Inside the altar there shall be four rows of charcoal; when young men come back from the warpath, we'll use charcoal to paint up and dance with if they have killed any enemies. Everything that grows shall turn whitish (fade). This ground-cedar shall be the only thing to remain green, both winter and summer." Then he said again, "What we plant shall be inspected again seven days after the first inspection. If this grows, there will be nothing on the face of the earth similar to it, for Old-Man-Coyote and the Stars gave it to me." The chief asked whether the plant would be

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (c), 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup>The others were said to be Maggie, Coyote and the Medicine Rock.

eaten when matured. "No! The seeds will be owned by the Crow Indians. You will tie them up in small bags, and as they increase all the Crow will have some Tobacco later on." He called their 'children' and said, "Distribute this among yourselves, all shall have of it. You may keep the seed case, use the leaves to smoke." He stood up and said, "Take all kinds of weeds. Before the seventh day I want to sing with the weeds in imitation of the Tobacco to help its growth before the second inspection. We'll sing four songs, the last time raise them up higher. On the seventh day the Tobacco will be that much higher." The words of the songs were as before:—

Hírawe, cōn awé dīwāwīk. (Female comrade, where shall I plant?)

He told them to have a feast after the song. "After seven days we'll send men there." On the seventh day they went. On coming back they said they had seen a white-flowered plant growing that they had never seen before. They had the same ceremony then. Twelve days later they were to go again. "Then you'll see it a good deal taller." They went again and reported that all were tall this time. "You'll see it again in fourteen days for the last time. It will be about so high." They moved camp and roamed about. "At the ripening of the berries when the leaves turn yellow, we must take back our seeds." They moved. He said, "Wait till I burn incense." He burnt *tsé* in the four corners. "Now you may gather it." He sang a song four times, then he broke the first seed off, then the others did the same, each piling up his own lot. Not all the plants were found to be alike. "As there are two kinds of animals (sexes), this is also of two kinds: long and short. This long kind you'll smoke and keep the seed cases to plant every year. The short kind you shall plant and merely keep (not smoke)." The Crow kept the short kind, the Hidatsa the longer kind, when they separated. When they got it, he said, "Wait, we'll make another one." A sweatlodge was put up and Tobacco seeds placed on top. Tobacco songs were sung inside. He then prayed to Old-Man-Coyote, the Stars, and other beings. He said, "We are putting up a sweatlodge and are going to sing." He called them and said, "You are all holy and asked us to do this. If any of my children are sick, they will get into the sweatlodge and if they get well they shall enter the Tobacco society." There are various causes for joining. Some say, "If I get a good horse this summer, I'll join," or, "If I fare well throughout the winter, I'll join the society." Pregnant women will say, "If I bear a child and it lives, I'll join the society." Young men on the warpath would say, "If I come home in safety and bring back a horse, I'll belong to the society." Even today, if a child is sick, the parents will say, "If it gets well, I'll join the society." The founder said, "This affair belongs to those powers alone. They have supervision of it. They may show you something new; and if so, don't fail to use it also."

Finally, I will give an abstract of the account furnished by Curtis.<sup>1</sup>

First-worker (Old-Man-Coyote), gave a man created from clay some Tobacco, telling him that if he scattered it against people he was angry with they should be afflicted with sores. The man refused to do this, saying this was a foolish procedure and that he preferred to strike his enemy and to have his enemy's heart turn weak. First-worker then told him that through the Tobacco his people should multiply. In reply to the man's request he gave him a song and the incense to be used in the Tobacco ceremony. The actual institution of the ritual is ascribed by Curtis's informants to No-vitals, chief of the Crow seceders from the Hidatsa.

<sup>1</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 61 f.



## SONGS.

According to Medicine-crow everything on earth that is endowed with supernatural power figures in the songs of the Tobacco ceremony. He enumerated the elk, antelope, mountain-sheep, black-tailed deer, beaver, otter, weasel, wolverene, wolf, coyote, squirrel, eagle, crane, swan, bear, buffalo, horse, eggs, sun, earth, summer, winter, day, night, thunderbird, God (ak-bátət-díə, "the maker of all things," the usual rendering of the missionaries' concept), moon, dawn, morningstar, evening-star, dipper, day-star, and medicine rock. He also mentioned such modern phenomena as cows, boats, trains, hogs, sheep, houses, garden vegetables, letters, and white men. The great variety in the songs is explained by the fact that their number has been constantly increased even to the most recent times. As Gray-bull explained, anyone might hear Tobacco songs in a sort of vision. If a horse is simultaneously seen, he will be mentioned in the song. The special practice of sleeping in the garden for the purpose of dreaming songs has been described.

In the preceding account I have at different places inserted the words of the songs. Below I give some additional Tobacco songs recorded during my first visit in 1907 and without accompanying information as to the time when they were sung.

## 1.

í'tsi tsìə                      apámbawíəwəc;      bíwē              ahú'tseruk.  
The Tobacco plant   I am trying to raise;   it is mine,   there is plenty, it is said.  
apár-itsí'tseruk.                      bíwē,              ahú'tseruk.  
It is growing well, it is said.   It is mine,   there is plenty (i.e., I have plenty).

## 2.

arapárik·ō      dící'tsēk·ik·ē;              karapárik·u,              dící'tsēk·e.  
As it grows,   it makes them dance;   when it has grown,   it makes them dance.  
bā-hirá              dāc              ítsim                      dící'tsēk·e.  
Now                      its heart              is good (it is glad),   it makes them dance.  
héi!   kam   burúake,      ék·okè      burúakek·ōkè,      burúakek·ōkè,  
He i!   It is   down below,   there   it is down below,   down below,  
kam   burúakèk·okē.      hē+i!      hiráawa,<sup>1</sup>      ha hē+i!  
already   down below.      He+i!      Look here,      ha he+i!

<sup>1</sup>Explained to be an imperative form used to a woman. I think the form is derived from the term for woman comrade.

## 3.

hirén	ba+ictacíre	bī	rácedeokà <sup>a</sup> he,	híre,	hérehère,	bī
These	White men	me	love,	híre,	hérehère,	me
rāakeokā ahe,      híri,      hérehère.						
they have adopted,      híri,      hérehère.						

## 4.

bī,	ítsi'tse,	birəxbā <sup>a</sup> kem,	bī	ík'akawè;	bi
I	the Tobacco plant,	am a person,	me	look at;	I
ítsi'tse,                      bī      bacóritsi'tse                      ík'akawe.					
I am the Tobacco plant,      I      am the medicine-rock,      look at it.					

## 5.

ópe	ahú'tseruc	awaxáwe	ambāka'kōk.
Tobacco	is plenty, it is said	on the mountain	where I stay.

## 6.

bā+apāra-r-ítsi	tsicíwa	héra, hā+i!
Some plants good	put on your heads (imperative)!	

## TOBACCO AND OUTSIDERS.

Though the membership of the society was anciently very much restricted, there was a distinct feeling that the Tobacco was planted on behalf of the entire tribe. Outsiders, to be sure, were not permitted to plant, but they participated in an auxiliary capacity at the garden. Bear-gets-up said that they were allowed to erect a miniature sweatlodge for the Sun in the garden in fulfilment of a vow. Even apart from the ceremony it was possible for them to enter into relations with the Tobacco.

More particularly, the Tobacco might confer good luck on the members of a war party. These might sing as prayers the Tobacco songs they had heard sung at performances of the ceremony. In lieu of drums they would use any means for producing a noise. Each man would declare that he was imitating So-and-so, mentioning the name of a member of the Tobacco society. "If I am successful and bring back horses," they would say, "I shall give them to So-and-so." One informant once imitated Three-wolves, promising to give him a big feast and a blanket in case of martial success. He struck a coup and on his return summoned the Tobacco members and gave them a feast. Ordinarily people would be afraid of mimicking others in this fashion, but on the warpath it was reckoned a form of prayer.

Visions of the Tobacco were not confined to members. Bull-chief slept outdoors one winter and dreamt that a few men appeared to him and sang a song which he still remembered at the time of our interview:—

hirén	itsfre	buré	ík·akawè.
These	horses (and)	mules	look at.

ík·akawè,	di	ítse	cíā-màtsik.	
Look,	you	well	for a long time	shall (live).

Bull-chief attributes his longevity to this experience. Though asked to join the Tobacco society, he always refused to be adopted.

Child-in-his-mouth was a member of the society but was blessed with a Tobacco vision prior to his entrance. His wife's grandfather had been one of the principal members and passed on his medicine, consisting of a necklace with two little Tobacco bags, to his son. When the son died, the widow kept the medicine. Through her daughter she told her son-in-law, my informant, to take the medicine to the mountains and try to get a revelation. He was so poor then that he had to travel afoot. He went out to fast on the prairie. On the fourth day about sunset he was crying continually while leaning against a rock. The camp was near enough for him to hear the conversation and the barking of the dogs. While hearing these sounds he got sleepy and fell asleep.

He does not know whether he was sound asleep or not. An old man and woman were lying on the ground before him. The woman lifted her head, looked at Child-in-the-mouth, and said to her companion, "Here comes our poor child." The old man began to sing, shaking a round rattle, which was decorated with a scalp tied to the top and also with a piece of weasel skin. He sang as follows: "Tobacco I am calling; Tobacco is growing; Tobacco is growing stronger." The woman wore a belt with blue beads, a buckskin dress, and beaded leggings, the man wore a similar dress. They lay about two feet apart, and in the middle there was a little Tobacco garden. After the first song the garden seemed a little larger. The same song was sung again, and the garden increased in size once more. After the third song the garden got longer than the length of the old couple's bodies. After the fourth song the garden extended the length of about 50 feet. At the end of each song the couple tried to rise. The second time they began to sit up, at the third song they sat erect, at the fourth they got up on their feet and stretched themselves. Child-in-the-mouth then saw a black deer's tail painted red tied to the woman's head, while the old man had a meadowlark on his head with dried grass over its bill. Suddenly a young man was standing between



the two old people. They began to sing a song and at its close they pushed him forward and he ran across the garden. This was Child-in-the-mouth himself and when at the other end he looked and saw guns, arrows and bows in front of him at the other end of the garden. These represented the number he was going to take from the enemy. He returned to the old couple and the man asked him what he had seen. He replied, "Plenty of bows and arrows; it is going to be a good year for the whole tribe." The old man began to sing a song of rejoicing. Then he said, "My child is always going to have good luck henceforth; he will have plenty of horses and be wealthy."

Suddenly Child-in-the-mouth awoke. The sun was high. There was no sound from the camp. He walked home and got there. The people were bringing in buffalo meat; he had none but had to beg others for some. That night he put his medicine in place and dreamt further about Tobacco. This time the old man bade him look outdoors, and he saw a gray mare about to give birth to a colt, a white horse. Soon after Child-in-the-mouth went on a war party and captured the gray horse he had dreamt about. The day after his return he went to hunt buffalo and found a stray fat sorrel mare, got it, and killed a fat buffalo, packing the meat on his mare and leading the gray horse. Thus he had two horses. When the camp moved, his wife rode the gray and himself the sorrel. They had pack horses besides. He felt proud now, went on a party and stole another Sioux horse. He set out toward Tongue River, sighted enemies, sneaked round in the dark and stole a buckskin. The enemies pursued him, but he escaped by swimming the river. Thus he had four horses. He went against the Sioux again, killed a man, struck a first coup, and took a gun. He went against the Piegan, two of whom were killed by the Crow. Child-in-the-mouth struck them and took their guns,—the ones he had seen when running across the garden in his dream.

All this happened before my informant entered the Tobacco society. Later the Crazy Dog chapter adopted him. He has never been poor since, but always had plenty, went to war after that, and came to rank as a chief.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

It remains to consider the Tobacco complex as to its place in tribal life and to connect its constituent features with other elements of Crow ceremonialism and with the observances of neighboring tribes.

In point of importance for the Crow the Tobacco ceremonial can be compared only to the Sun dance. Nevertheless the resemblances between the two are limited to very general ritualistic conceptions or to relatively subordinate matters of detail. The structure of the lodges used was identical except as to size; the ritual of cutting the first tree is somewhat similar; in both cases there is a formal procession from the preparatory to the main lodge; noted warriors recite their deeds and, more particularly, demand food in a specific way; and at one stage an eagle shaman takes part, though in very different fashion.<sup>1</sup> But the underlying conceptions vary enormously. The esoteric feature of the Sun dance centers in the medicine bundle of the Doll Owner through whose aid the pledger wreaks the coveted revenge on his kinsman's slayer; and the pledger does not acquire any permanent ceremonial privilege. In the Tobacco dance there is a body of initiates sharing the ceremonial prerogatives of a definite organization. Yet the Sun dance, in which the general public play rather a significant part, was performed primarily for a private end; while the Tobacco ritual, confined as it was in all its essentials to duly adopted members and notwithstanding their preemptive claims to supernatural favor, had for its avowed object the tribal welfare.

Three other ceremonies invite comparison with the Tobacco ritual,—the Medicine Pipe performance, the Cooked Meat ceremony, and the Bear Song dance. The Medicine pipe is acquired after a vow strictly similar to that of the Tobacco society candidate, but since the Pipe ritual is known to have been adopted from the Hidatsa since the settlement of the Crow on their present reservation it cannot have had any influence on the development of the Tobacco usages. The two other ceremonies mentioned share certain ritualistic conceptions with the Tobacco society but these are for the most part of a very general nature. Thus at the Bear Song dance there is an assembly in a preparatory tipi and a single-file procession to the dance ground with the women in the lead, and *isé* is smoked for incense. A more specific feature highly characteristic of this ceremony but appearing only incidentally in the Tobacco organization will be discussed below. In the Cooked Meat ceremony there is hardly any resemblance as to detail, but the prominence of war captains is as pronounced as in the Sun dance and Tobacco society; sometimes the performance is in fulfilment of a vow.

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (d), 38 f., 32, 42 seq., 44, 37.

It is worth noting that in all these serious ceremonials women play a definite and by no means always a subordinate part. They exhibit their shamanistic powers as freely as men at the Bear Song dance, they may act as hostesses at the Cooked Meat ceremony, and in the Sun dance the position of the virtuous women is an eminently honorable one. The prominence of women in the Tobacco society is clear from the foregoing account. They may act independently as Painters or Mixers and in a variety of ways in conjunction with their husbands, the principle followed being that husband and wife are ceremonially one person. In the dancing, the women are certainly far more conspicuous than the men, whose rôle at times seems reduced to that of musicians.

As an *organization* the Tobacco society is unique among the Crow. The military societies and the modern clubs completely lack a formal adoption, which figures so prominently in the Tobacco cult; and the Horse society is an Assiniboin innovation limited to one local division of the Crow. Moreover, the form of entrance differs wholly from that characteristic of the Hidatsa or Mandan age-societies. In the latter membership was bought by one group from another group, which thereby renounced all title to the society; the Tobacco novices merely paid an entrance fee which entitled them to participate in the activities of a chapter as additional members. Finally, the Tobacco society does not resemble the bundle fraternities of the Hidatsa, which so far as I understand them are strictly hereditary in constitution, purchase being obligatory on and restricted to the owner's children.

The one significant trait which the Tobacco society shares with the secular organizations of the Crow relates to the presenting of gifts to a person to make him join a chapter; but this is possibly an innovation (p. 134) and in no case interferes with the regular initiation ceremony.

It appears, then, that structurally the Tobacco society is an independent product, presumably of indigenous growth. Indeed, its central idea, that of adoption, is one very prominent among the Crow. Even so common an undertaking as a war party was in Crow theory the result of a vision. The visionary, instead of himself leading, might equip a delegate with mysterious power to steal horses or kill an enemy, and this established the ceremonial relationship of 'father' and 'son' between them.<sup>1</sup> To go back another step, the supernatural power that favors a visionary invariably adopts him, the stock greeting in such cases being, *d̄i barák' b̄awik'*, "I shall make you my child." Of course the

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<sup>1</sup>See Lowie, (d), 8.



supernatural being exacts from the adoptive son merely obedience to instructions; these often contain a promise that he shall reap material benefit through adopting others or at least by letting others participate in his power (see p. 130). What happens, then, in the Tobacco society, is entirely deducible from these basic conceptions. The visionary who has seen specific variations in the ceremonial adopts men and women, who thus come to participate in the blessings granted, pay compensation, and are in return empowered to ordain, as it were, new members. But, instead of remaining so many individuals separately enjoying the fruits of adoption, they join coöperatively to plant the Tobacco and promote its growth. It is simply the bond of permanent association uniting adopted individuals that distinguishes the Tobacco society from a hundred cases of individual adoption in Crow myth and ceremonial practice. The conception that ceremonial privileges can be bought,—indeed, that purchase is the normal and orthodox way of acquiring them, is of course common in North America and appears in identical form among the Blackfoot.

There are several other widely distributed ritualistic elements that appear in the Tobacco complex. The sweatlodge performance is undergone in the manner characteristic of the Crow procedure on other occasions. Four figures conspicuously as the mystic number, notably in the procession to the adoption lodge. The recital of coups is a highly characteristic intrusive feature and recalls the part taken by war captains in the Sun dance. Finally, the vow found in connection with other Crow rituals to join the society on condition of one's own or a relative's recovery from illness (or some other favorable turn of events) strongly recalls the ceremonial usages of various Plains tribes, such as the Blackfoot and Arapaho.

One feature that occurs in the accounts of several of the chapters is especially interesting,—the *bâtsirópe* motive. Among the Crow it appears most prominently in a dance known as the Bear Song dance, at which all those with animals inside their bodies are supposed to demonstrate the fact by having a buffalo protrude its tail through the dancer's mouth, an eagle its wing feathers, etc. I do not know the distribution of this notion and the correlated practices. Wissler notes something similar among the Blackfoot and among the Mandan and Hidatsa they were recorded by Maximilian, who writes as follows:—

Sehr viele Mandans und Mönnitarris glauben, dass sie lebende Thiere im Leibe haben, der eine ein Bisonkalb, dessen Ausschlagen er öfters fühle, andere Schildkröten, Frösche, Eidechsen, einen Vogel und dergleichen. Bei den Mönnitarris sahen

wir Medicine-Tänze der Weiber, wo die eine vorgab, sie habe eine Mayskolbe im Leibe, welche sie hervor tanzte, und die man nachher mit Wermuth wieder hinein complimentirte. Eine andere warf Blut aus; jedoch hiervon weiter unten.<sup>1</sup>

Maximilian actually witnessed the exhibition of a corncob at an Hidatsa assemblage of medicine-women.<sup>2</sup>

The Blackfoot and the Sarsi are the only tribes which share with the Crow a ceremonial planting of the Tobacco.<sup>3</sup> As might be expected, the relationship between the Blackfoot and Sarsi performances is far deeper than that between the Blackfoot and the Crow rituals. In both the northwestern tribes the planting is connected with the Beaver medicine bundle, in both appears the detail of an offering of little moccasins, in both the Tobacco is smoked. None of these features appears among the Crow,<sup>4</sup> while their elaborate organization remains without parallel among the Sarsi and Blackfoot. It is true that Curtis speaks of a Beaver fraternity, but Wissler specifically denies that the bundle owners constituted a society. This discrepancy might of course be reduced to a mere difference in terminology. However, the significant fact remains that the Beaver bundle owners certainly form no organization comparable with the Crow *bacúsua*. The Blackfoot have no adoption ceremony and the conditions of entrance are quite different. A Blackfoot becomes a Beaver man by a simple purchase through which proprietary rights are relinquished by the seller. Among the Crow there is no such transfer of membership: the tyro does not supersede his initiator but becomes an additional member of the chapter. Further, the Blackfoot have none of those subdivisions and special ceremonial prerogatives which are so highly characteristic of the Tobacco society. The identification of the Tobacco with the stars is another distinctively Crow feature.

The analogies that connect the Crow and Blackfoot performances are all associated with the planting itself: its ceremonial character (as contrasted with the purely secular planting of, say, the Hidatsa); the mixing of the seed with animal droppings; the burning on the plot; and the inspection of the growing plants.<sup>5</sup> These resemblances suffice to establish ultimate community of origin for the practice, but we must remember that there is no wholesale parallelism between the rituals as now practised.

<sup>1</sup>Maximilian, II, 190. Cf. Kroeber, 434f.; Wissler, 80.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 269 f.

<sup>3</sup>Goddard, 225-227; Grinnell, 268-271; Wissler, vol. 7, this series, 171, 200-204; Curtis, vol. 6 89, 76-79.

<sup>4</sup>There are occasional references to beaver medicines—e.g., the Tobacco chapter was said to have held such—but they are far less frequent than those to sacred weasel or otter bundles. No-shinbone mentioned a Beaver chapter, whose members danced with beaver skins, kneeling during some songs and rising for others. Cf. also Crane-bear's origin tale (p. 178).

<sup>5</sup>It is of course possible that the songs have a common origin, but the words recorded do not suggest a direct connection.

Where, then, did the ceremonial planting originate? Native tradition, as usual, leaves us in the lurch. The Sarsi have it that they received the seeds from a water serpent with injunctions not to pass them on to other peoples. The Blackfoot are equally certain that *they* were the original beneficiaries of supernatural benevolence, and the Crow explain circumstantially how the Blackfoot learned the custom from them. We must accordingly resort to objective considerations.

As between Sarsi and Blackfoot, the marginal position of the former among Plains Indians and their known relations with the Blackfoot indicate that they were the borrowers. Their ceremonialism is certainly much more weakly developed and it is perhaps a characteristic manifestation of this trait that planting is not limited by them to bundle owners.

The problem thus reduces itself to the question whether the Crow borrowed from the Piegan or vice versa. Recognizing that a mathematical demonstration is impossible, I incline to the view that the usage is of Crow origin. In the first place, the Tobacco planting plays a far more prominent part among the Crow than among the Blackfoot, where it merely represents a portion of the Beaver men's activities. For this reason, it has persisted among the Crow until at least 1916, while except for the northern division it has been obsolete among the Blackfoot for more than a generation. Secondly, the planting of Tobacco represents an agricultural technique,—the only agricultural effort of these typical buffalo-hunters. The Blackfoot, as one of the northwesternmost Plains tribes and representing an aberrant branch of the Algonkian family, are not affiliated with any group from which they are likely to have derived the technique. The Crow, on the other hand, are intimately related to the Hidatsa, who planted corn and even tobacco, though of a different variety and in non-ritualistic fashion.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly I assume that the Crow derived their agricultural technique from the Hidatsa, elaborated it ceremonially and transmitted it subsequently to the Piegan, who developed the conceptions received in consonance with their own ceremonial pattern, which in turn was partly borrowed by the Sarsi.

It is a very different question where the Crow may have obtained the Tobacco plant. Above (p. 111) I have quoted Professor Setchell to the effect that *Nicotiana multivalvis* can be produced from the wild tobacco of northern California. This statement should be combined with the following linguistic and cultural data. The only Siouan language in

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 121-127.



which the Crow stem for 'tobacco' appears is, as might be expected, Hidatsa (*ōpe*). For example, the Assiniboin term is *tcantī*, the Biloxi *yanī*, and among the Stoney I recorded *indukābi*. The Shoshoneans of the Great Basin probably did not cultivate tobacco at all, and such designations for the plant smoked as are at my disposal reveal no suggestion of affinity with the Crow-Hidatsa term. On the other hand, astonishing resemblances occur in the Pacific Coast region. Here we find the Diegueño term *up*, Shasta *ōp*, Takelma *ō<sup>u</sup>p*.<sup>1</sup> It is hardly conceivable that we are here dealing with a mere coincidence, but hitherto I have failed to find the links connecting the Shasta with the Crow. An examination of vocabularies from tribes of Oregon and Idaho is desirable. The fact that the Hidatsa share the Crow term for tobacco indicates that the contact with the Far West antedates their separation. The specific difference of the tobacco now raised by the Hidatsa offers no obstacle since they may be assumed to have subsequently adopted the plant raised by the Mandan and Arikara.

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<sup>1</sup>Sapir, 70.

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